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# THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY OF TRANSVAAL SOTHO.

## RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TRANSVAAL SOTHO DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

Approved by the Union Committee on African Studies and Research.

The Transvaal Sotho District Committee, a sub-committee of the Central Orthography Committee appointed by the Union Education Department Advisory Committee on African Studies and Research, at its meeting of October 3rd, 1929, and by subsequent correspondence, agreed to make the following recommendations with regard to the practical orthography of Transvaal Sotho.

### Representations of Sounds.

#### § 1. (a) VOWELS.

a	rata	to like
ê	rêma	to chop
e	lema	to plough
	ke	I
	thabeng	on the hill
i	thipa	knife
ô	lôra	a dream
o	noka	river
	o	you
	leratong	in love
u	thuitô	teaching

#### (b) NOTES ON THE VOWELS.

1. *Length*.—In consequence of the rule that long vowels occur only (i) in the penultimate syllable of words of more than one syllable, (ii) in monosyllabic words followed by other monosyllabic words which have enclitic stress (e.g. *ke tla: tla* (I shall come)), (iii) in vividly emphasised speech, the Committee feels that it is not *necessary* to mark *length* by any special means, such as doubling the vowel, which should be reserved for those cases where there is a distinct *doubling* of the vowel with a marked pause induced by the usually accompanying change of tone (e.g. *maand* (wits)). It wishes, however, to leave elasticity in this regard in the case of dialectal differences, and is not opposed to the writing of double vowels to mark length where this is felt to be necessary.

2. *e* and *o*.—It will be observed that three examples are given under each of these symbols. These three examples correspond to the normal, the raised and the lowered varieties of these sounds respectively. While these varieties are *phonetically* different from each other, they belong to the same *phonemes*, hence it has been decided to represent them with the same sign.

3. *Interchange of e and ê, o and ô*.—The Committee feels that these varieties should be given due place in transcription, e.g. Pedi *therêšô* (truth) elsewhere *therešô*, Pedi *xaxô* (yours) elsewhere *xaxo*.

4. *Pitch of Vowels*.—See below under *Intonation*.

### § 2. (a) NON-SYLLABIC OR SEMI-VOWELS.

<i>y</i>	<i>yêna</i>	he
<i>w</i>	<i>wêna</i>	you

### (b) NOTES ON THE NON-SYLLABIC OR SEMI-VOWELS.

1. Each of these sounds has variants, both as between various positions of the same sound in the same dialect, and as between the same position of the same sound in various dialects, the sound in some cases approaching nearer to the true vowel, in other cases approaching nearer to the true semi-vowel. But nowhere does it coincide either with the true vowel or with the true semi-vowel, nor is it possible to ascertain rules of an etymological nature to determine when it might be advisable to write the sounds with vowel-symbols, and as the vowel-symbols *e* and *o* are already sufficiently burdened, it has been decided to write the semi-vowel sign in all cases.

2. This practice brings Sotho, which has hitherto occupied a solecistic position in this respect, into line with the practice in all other Bantu languages.

### § 3. CONSONANTS (PLAIN).

#### A. NASALS.

##### (a) NON-SYLLABIC—

<i>m</i>	<i>loma</i>	to bite
<i>n</i>	<i>nama</i>	meat
<i>ny</i>	<i>nyaka</i>	to seek
<i>ng</i>	<i>ngapa</i>	to scratch

##### (b) SYLLABIC—

<i>mma</i>	mother
<i>nna</i>	I
<i>nnyaka</i>	seek me
<i>nngapa</i>	scratch me

### (c) NOTES ON THE NASALS.

1. *Non-syllabic Nasals*.—The diagraph *ng* to represent the voiced velar nasal is introduced in preference to the I.P.A. symbol, since the

committee felt it unwise to adopt any special types, and in preference to the symbol  $\tilde{n}$  since the committee felt that the number of diacritics adopted should be limited to the most necessary cases.

2. *Syllabic Nasals*.—Syllabic *m* occurs before non-syllabic *m* and also before all the voiceless labial explosives (see below). It is written *m*. Syllabic *n* occurs before non-syllabic *n* and also before all the voiceless alveolar explosives (see below). It is written *n*. Syllabic *ny* occurs only before another non-syllabic *ny* and is written *n*, the combination appearing as *nny*. Syllabic *ng* occurs before non-syllabic *ng* and also before all the voiceless velar explosives (see below). It is written *n*, the combinations appearing as *nng*, *nk*, *nkh*, *nkx*.

3. The voiced velar explosive *g* does not occur in normal Transvaal Sotho, nor does the combination of the voiced velar nasal with the voiced velar explosive (i.e. *ng-g*), except in certain dialects (e.g. *Lobedu*). It has been suggested that in such cases the combination *nge*, be written.

## B. EXPLOSIVES.

### (a) VOICELESS—

#### (i) *Labial* :

<i>p</i>	<i>pula</i>	rain
<i>ph</i>	<i>phela</i>	to live
<i>ps</i>	<i>psila</i>	nice
<i>py</i>	<i>bopya</i>	to be formed
<i>phs</i>	<i>iphsina</i>	to adorn oneself
<i>phš</i>	<i>phšatla</i>	to crush
<i>phy</i>	<i>phyaphya</i>	to clap hands.

### NOTES ON THE VOICELESS LABIAL EXPLOSIVES.

1. *py* represents a phoneme which has various members in various dialects. The first element is always *p*, but the second element may be a semi-vocalic glide, a voiced hushing fricative, or even a voiceless hushing fricative.

2. The combinations *phs*, *phš*, *phy* represent the aspirated forms of *ps*, *pš* (see Note 1 above) and *py*. For reasons connected with the representation of the hissing and hushing fricatives and their combinations, into which the committee went very fully, it has been decided to insert the *h* which indicates aspiration between the explosive and the fricative symbols in all cases.

## (ii) Alveolar :

<i>t</i>	<i>tau</i>	lion
<i>th</i>	<i>thaka</i>	companion
<i>ts</i>	<i>tseba</i>	to know
<i>tš</i>	<i>tšeа</i>	to take
<i>ths</i>	<i>thséphé</i>	springbok
<i>thš</i>	<i>thšaba</i>	to flee
<i>tl</i>	<i>tlá</i>	to come
<i>thl</i>	<i>nthlókómélē</i>	watch for me

## NOTES ON THE VOICELESS ALVEOLAR EXPLOSIVES.

1. The combinations *ths* and *thš* are built up in the same way as the combinations *p̄hs* and *p̄hš* (see Note 2 on the voiceless labial explosives above), and represent the aspirated forms of *ts* and *tš*.

2. The combination *thl* represents the permuted form of the voiceless alveolar lateral fricative represented by the combination *hl* (see below), e.g. the forms *thlókómélē*, *nthlókómélē*, *ithlókómélā* from the verb-root *hlókóméla*. It is a permutation in two ways, i.e., - by addition of the explosive element *t* and by aspiration. For both these reasons, it has been decided to represent this sound by *thl* and not by the possibly more correct but for Transvaal (and Basutoland) Sotho unserviceable current form *tlh*.

## (iii) Velar :

<i>k</i>	<i>réka</i>	to buy
<i>kh</i>	<i>khudu</i>	tortoise
<i>kx</i>	<i>kxoši</i>	chief

## NOTES ON THE VOICELESS VELAR EXPLOSIVES.

1. The combination *kx* is aspirated, and should more correctly have been written either *kxh* or *khx*. But the unaspirated form does not occur, and so it has been found sufficient to write the sound in the way indicated, with the understanding that it is aspirated.

2. For the value of *x* in the combination *kx*, see below.

## (b) VOICED—

## (i) Labial :

*b* and *by* represent the voiced labial explosives, which are variants of the voiced labial fricatives also represented by *b* and *by* (see below). These variants occur only in certain dialects of Transvaal Sotho. They are respectively members of the same phonemes to which the normal fricatives belong.

## NOTES ON THE VOICED EXPLOSIVES.

1. There are no voiced alveolar or velar explosives in normal Transvaal Sotho. In some dialects, e.g. *Lobedu*, voiced alveolar explosives (*d* and its combinations) and voiced velar explosives (*g* and its combinations) occur, and it has been suggested that these sounds should be represented by *d* and *g* respectively.

2. In such a case it should be understood that the *d* represents the alveolar *explosive*, not the alveolar half-flapped fricative, as it does in Transvaal Sotho (see below).

## C. FRICATIVES.

## (a) VOICELESS—

(i) *Labial* :

<i>f</i>	<i>fofa</i>	to fly
<i>fs</i>	<i>lefsifsi</i>	darkness
<i>fy</i>	<i>lefya</i>	to be fined

## NOTES ON THE VOICELESS LABIAL FRICATIVES.

1. Both bilabial and labio-dental *f* occur in various dialects of Transvaal Sotho. They are members of the same phoneme, and are both represented without confusion by *f*.

2. *fs* represents a phoneme which has two types of members in the various dialects of Transvaal Sotho, viz., the combination of bilabial *f* with *s*, and the voiceless whistling fricative represented in the I.P.A. Alphabet by the Greek *sigma*. These sounds are represented without confusion by the same symbol *fs*.

3. *fy* represents a phoneme which has four members in the various dialects of Transvaal Sotho, viz., the combination of *f* with the alveolar semi-vowel glide, with a voiced hushing fricative, with a voiceless hushing fricative, and with a voiced hissing fricative (cf. *py* above and *by* below). These sounds may all be represented without confusion by the same symbol *fy*.

4. It must be noted that in the combination *fy* the *f*-element may be bilabial or labio-dental. In the combination *fs* it is most often bilabial.

(ii) *Alveolar* :

<i>s</i>	<i>selô</i>	thing
<i>š</i>	<i>šala</i>	to remain
<i>hl</i>	<i>hlapi</i>	a fish

## NOTES ON THE VOICELESS ALVEOLAR FRICATIVES.

1. The symbol  $\$$ , with its movable diacritic, was chosen by the committee to represent the sound of the voiceless hushing fricative in preference to the I.P.A. symbol, firstly on the principle of not introducing new types (the symbol chosen is one which has been in use in Transvaal Sotho for many years), secondly in order to overcome the difficulties caused in the representation of the hissing and hushing fricatives and their combinations if a diagraph such as *sh* were chosen, thirdly in order by employing a letter with a movable diacritic to minimise as much as possible the phonetic differences between Transvaal Sotho dialects amongst themselves and as opposed to other Sotho dialects.

There is a fairly regular interchangeability between Transvaal Sotho and the other Sotho dialects in regard to the hissing and the hushing fricatives, including their combinations, but, though it is regular enough, it is not so regular as to allow of a diaphone being used.

(iii) *Velar* :

<i>x</i>	<i>xōxa</i>	to pull
<i>h</i>	<i>huma</i>	to become rich

## NOTES ON THE VOICELESS VELAR FRICATIVES.

1. *x* represents a phoneme which has two members, respectively the voiceless and the voiced velar fricatives. The voiced form occurs more frequently in Transvaal Sotho (always between vowels and often as the initial sound before a vowel), but some speakers use them indifferently, now always the voiceless, now always the voiced—sometimes the one and sometimes the other. Both sounds are represented without confusion by the same symbol *x*.

2. *h* represents a phoneme which has four members in the various dialects of Transvaal Sotho, viz., a sound closely approaching the German "ich-Laut," a pure *h*, a bilabial or labio-dental *f*, and a voiced velar fricative. These sounds are, however, not interchangeable in the *same* dialect, and may therefore be represented without confusion by the same symbol *h*, which otherwise has no function than to represent aspiration in the explosive combinations.

## (b) VOICED—

(i) *Labial* :

<i>b</i>	<i>bōna</i>	to see
<i>by</i>	<i>byalō</i>	thus

## NOTES ON THE VOICED LABIAL FRICATIVES.

1. *b* represents a single-sound phoneme, and *by* a combination phoneme, in each of which the *b* represents either an explosive or a fricative (cf. the note on the voiced labial explosives above). *by* further represents three varieties of the combination, in which the first element is a fricative or explosive *b*, and the second is either an alveolar semi-vocalic glide, or a voiced hissing fricative or a voiced hushing fricative. All these (cf. *py* and *fy* above) may without confusion be represented by the same symbol *by*.

(ii) *Alveolar* :

<i>j</i>	<i>ja</i>	to eat
<i>r</i>	<i>ruta</i>	to teach
<i>l</i>	<i>lesa</i>	to leave
<i>d</i>	<i>dilô</i>	things

## NOTES ON THE VOICED ALVEOLAR FRICATIVES.

1. *j* represents a phoneme which has five members : (i) a voiced prepalatal explosive, (ii) *d* (see below) with (a) an alveolar semi-vocalic glide, (b) a voiced alveolar hissing fricative, (c) a voiced alveolar hushing fricative (cf. *py*, *fy*, *by* above); and (iii) a voiced alveolar hushing fricative, all of which varieties occur in one or other of the various Transvaal Sotho dialects. They may all be represented without confusion by the one symbol *j*.

2. Syllabic *r* and *l* occur as well as non-syllabic, but respectively only before non-syllabic *r* and *l*. They are represented by *r* and *l* respectively, and the combinations appear respectively as *rr* and *ll*.

3. *d* represents a sound which occurs with some varieties in the various dialects and among various speakers of the same dialect. Generally it is a semi-flapped alveolar lateral fricative, *tending* to become a true *d* in some cases. A true *d* is, however, very rare, except in foreign words or under foreign influence. As *l* before *i* and *u* does not normally occur, being replaced by this sound, it might have been possible to write *l* to represent it, as has been done in some orthographies, were it not for the fact that a number of cases exists where true *l* occurs even before *i* and *u*. As it is, the symbol *d* has had to be chosen.

(iii) *Velar* :

Voiced velar fricative occurs, but belongs to the same phoneme as the voiceless (see above), and is therefore represented by the same symbol.

#### § 4. CONSONANTS (LABIALISED).

Back labialisation is indicated by the insertion of *w* after the labialised consonant or consonant-group. The following labialised forms occur : *nw* (*nwa*, to drink), *ngw* (*rongwa*, to be sent), *tw* (*ntwa*, war), *thw* (*thwala*, to hire), *sw* (*swara*, to hold), *tsw* (*tswala*, to beget), *ths*w (*thswa*, to spit), *šw* (*mošwa*, the opposite side), *tšw* (*tšwa*, to come out), *thšw* (*thšwene*, baboon), *hlw* (*mohlwa*, ants), *thlw* (*nthlwa*, flying ant), *tlw* (*tlwaéla*, to get accustomed to), *xw* (*xwaša*, to make a noise), *hw* (*hwa*, to die), *kw* (*kwala*, to be audible), *khw* (*sekhwama*, bag), *kxw* (*kxwatha*, to touch), *rw* (*rwala*, to carry), *lw* (*lwa*, to fight).

Front labialisation is not specially marked, as the sounds with front labialisation are to all intents and purposes identical with the series represented by *py*, *fy* and *by* (see above).

#### **Length.**

See above under Note 1 on the Vowels.

#### **Stress.**

The Committee made no recommendation as to the marking of Stress, which is subject to the general rule that the stressed syllable of a word of more than one syllable is the penultimate, except in some cases of vivid description.

#### **Pitch or Intonation.**

(a) The Committee did not feel it necessary to mark Intonation as a general rule, though semantically-significant intonation is a marked feature of Transvaal Sotho, as indeed of almost all Bantu languages, and though many sets of words are distinguished by the intonation, and by that alone, it was felt that, on the whole, however, the context would show the meaning of such words.

(b) In cases where the context does not show the meaning, the Committee recommends, and in all other cases the Committee does not oppose, the marking of intonation. It recommends the adoption of the acute accent (') for the high, and the grave accent (") for the low tone, leaving the middle tone unmarked. Thus, in case of need, it would distinguish the following words in the way shown :—

<i>ke</i>	I	<i>ké</i>	it is
<i>o</i>	you	<i>ó</i>	he, she, it
<i>se</i>	it	<i>sé</i>	do not
<i>sa</i>	not	<i>sá</i>	still

(c) This method of distinguishing between words does away with the previous erroneous practice of distinguishing between such words by writing them with different vowel signs (e.g., *ki*, I ; *ke*, it is ; *u*, you ; *o*, he, she, it, etc.). Such words are to be written alike, and distinguished in the way shown above under (b).

### **Word Division.**

The Committee recommends the retention of the disjunctive system of word-division hitherto followed in Transvaal Sotho. Special problems in this connection should be legislated for as occasion arises. The only case upon which the Committee felt it was at present necessary to pronounce a recommendation is the writing of the Present Tense of verbs. In this case the Committee recommends the writing of the forms *ke a ruta*, *o a ruta*, *ó a ruta*, etc., and not *kea ruta*, *ua ruta*, *oa ruta*, as has been done in the past.

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## DRIFTS OF MANKIND IN AFRICA AND EUROPE.

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The meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science with the South African Association for the Advancement of Science at Capetown and Johannesburg in 1929 offered an opportunity for comparative study of man in Africa and Europe, and brought into prominence the need for a very provisional general picture of the movements that have helped to determine the populations of both. The valuable work of Leakey, Neville Jones, Hewitt, Van Riet Lowe and Goodwin on material archaeology<sup>(1)</sup>, and of Broom, Dart, Drennan and Leakey on physical anthropology in Africa was discussed by these workers at the meetings, and striking parallelisms were brought out, which need further interpretation; and the results of Wayland, Reck and others in East Africa, and of Misses Caton Thompson and Gardner<sup>(2)</sup>, and of Messrs. Sandford and Arkell<sup>(3)</sup> in Egypt obviously need to be brought into any scheme.

In material archaeology the resemblances of the Stellenbosch type of stone implement, with its working of both faces of the nucleus to form a *coup-de-poing* or *limande*, etc., to the Acheulian type in South-West Europe suggest that we are dealing with a culture movement that probably streamed in both directions, as well as to India, from an intermediate centre. The remarkable correspondences, again, between some of the techniques of the

(1) See especially "The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa." A. J. H. Goodwin and C. van Riet Lowe. *Annals S. African Museum*, Vol. XXVII, 1929, and its many reference to other works. See also Burkitt, M. C. "South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint." Cambridge, 1928.

(2) Caton-Thompson, G., and Gardner, E. W. "Recent Geology and Neolithic Industry of the Northern Fayum Desert." *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, LVI, 1926. "Recent Work on the Problem of Lake Moeris." *Geogr. Journal*, Jan., 1929.

(3) Sandford, K. S., and Arkell, W. J. "On the Relation of Palaeolithic Man to the History and Geology of the Nile Valley in Egypt." *Man*, 1929 (April), No. 50. See also Caton-Thompson, G. "Letter in Man." 1929 (July). No. 97.

Middle Phase of the Old Stone Age in Europe and those of the Still Bay and other types in South Africa, and the likenesses of both to implements on some sites of the Gamblian phase discovered by Leakey<sup>(4)</sup> in E. Africa cannot but suggest culture-spreads, the details of the direction of which need to be thought out, for it would seem that, in Europe, these techniques may be older in Central than in S.-W. Europe. On this point, however, there is every hope that Breuil may bring new light to bear from his comparative studies of Europe and Africa. Aurignacian or early Capsian technique, so important in stone implements in S.-W. Europe, is, to a large extent, paralleled in Africa, but, in this case, with a difference. In S.-W. Europe the Aurignacian supersedes and ultimately obliterates the Middle Stone Age cultures; in E. and S. Africa it influences them and blends with them here and there, and one gets a picture of peoples with these diverse cultures moving about in Africa and succeeding one another in particular areas, and, on occasion, blending. The Magdalenian phase of South-West Europe is to some extent paralleled at the Makalian sites that Leakey has found near Elmienteita. It must not, however, be thought that all S. or E.

<sup>(4)</sup> See Goodwin, A. J. H., and Van Riet Lowe, C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-7, etc.

Leakey's scheme of time phases is as follows, and is given here for ease of reference:—

- (e) Nakuran. Silts of more local occurrence with remains of an early agricultural life, pottery, beads dateable by reference to Egyptian and other types, stone bowls. Some skulls are of negroid type; some are not.
- (d) Makalian. Fine lake silts, far thinner than those of a, b or c. They contain a more or less Magdalenian culture, but with this is here associated decorated pottery. "European" types of skull occur.
- (c) Gamblian. Mainly lake silts below, with red deposits indicating great aridity above. The Gamblian contains an Aurignacian culture at some sites and a Mousterian at others within a short distance. Some sites yield a more or less blended culture. Pottery occurs.
- (b) Enderian. Mainly lake silts. No faulting. Large lakes in the different basins of the Rift Valley. Ends above in an indubitable land surface that still shows plant rootlet channels. It contains a more or less Mousterian culture.
- (a) Eburrian. Very thick layers of silts, ashes, lavas, diatomite, etc., belonging to a huge lake that occupied most of the Rift Valley. These deposits are faulted, but the later ones (b, c, d, e) are not. The latest Eburrian layers contain Chellian and Acheulian tools, many of obsidian. The top seems to have been an irregular land

African stone industries are parallel with those known in Europe; these are local developments of great importance<sup>(5)</sup>.

The later Capsian phase leading, in Europe and North Africa, to the widespread Tardenoisian culture, and at so many places in East and South Africa to the Wilton culture, shows still more clearly a spread in both directions, and, for that matter, in a third direction, to India and Ceylon, and in a fourth, to Mongolia. In this case the evidence for N. Africa and S.-W. Asia as the early home of the culture seems strong.

Leakey has undoubtedly found pots in Makalian and even Gamblian layers, that is, in association with cultures which, elsewhere, yield no pottery.

In the art of early Europe there are the like correspondences. The majority of the rock paintings in South Africa cannot but be related to those of Eastern Spain. Some others, and some engravings produced by pecking the rock surface, have the feeling of the western French and north Spanish cave paintings of animals. The polychrome painting at Impey's Cave in Rhodesia is an isolated fact at present, but suggests possible Egyptian influence. The subject of these paintings and engravings is beyond the scope of this article. They are mentioned in passing in order to suggest that this line of evidence leads, on the whole, to a view like that reached through the study of the archaeology of implements, as Sollas<sup>(6)</sup> has long believed and Burkitt<sup>(7)</sup> has recently argued.

(5) The Capsian culture of N. Africa includes three phases:—

- (c) End-Capsian or Final Capsian characterised by geometrical microliths, like those of the European Tardenoisian.
- (b) Late Capsian with some geometrical microliths including tiny Gravette points, but also some larger implements like those of (a).
- (a) Early Capsian. Flakes usually with all edges retouched; relatively large Chatelperron points and some fine Gravette points. Keel scrapers and Core scrapers. Angled graters. No geometrical microliths. Many blades have deeply notched edges (*Lames étranglées*). Some Mousterian features are continued.

For convenience of comparison, it may be added that, in the European Aurignacian, Chatelperron points belong to the early stage, Gravette points and shouldered points to the late stage; that graters are rare in the early stage, but numerous and of many forms in the middle stage; that core scrapers belong mainly to the middle stage, but keeled scrapers run right through. Microliths first appear in Europe in the middle Aurignacian. "*Lames étranglées*" also appear in the middle Aurignacian. The lower and middle Aurignacian retain traces of Mousterian styles.

(6) Sollas, W. J. "Ancient Hunters." Third Edition, 1924, pp. 485-495.

(7) Burkitt, M. C. "South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint." Cambridge, 1928.

The study of ancient skulls and modern races in Africa is a third convergent line of evidence. Until a few years ago the races of S. Africa were classified as Bushman and Bantu groups, while the Hottentots were often looked upon as a Bushman-Bantu cross, and the Strandloopers were supposed to be an ancient stock more or less distinct from the Bushmen. It has been increasingly recognised that Bushman and Strandlooper are names referring rather to modes of life than to racial elements, but this has thrown into the melting pot the older conclusions concerning racial analysis. The presumably ancient Boskop skull was known as an isolated fact, and such it, in a measure, still remains. The Broken Hill skull revealed the presence in S. Africa of types related to those of the Middle Phase of the Old Stone Age in Europe, and the growing probability that that skull is really ancient increases the interest of that find. The most marked step forward, however, has been the paper of Broom on the Craniology of the Yellow-Skinned Races of S. Africa<sup>(8)</sup>. The author observed the material available and correlated data from skulls with data from living peoples, but did not attempt to make correlations with finds from Europe. This fact makes his conclusions all the more valuable, for he found in graves, and among modern populations in the district of Korana speech, a very long headed type with a median cranial ridge, a narrow forehead with marked temporal depressions, strong supra-ciliaries, large cheek bones, a certain amount of prognathism and a nose sometimes broad and flat, but sometimes of only moderate breadth. Broom's view that this represents an ancient drift into S. Africa has recently been strengthened by his description of a skull from the Springbok Flats, conforming to the type just described and found in association with remains of the extinct *Bubalus Baini*.

Quite recently, Leakey has obtained skulls of this type in Kenya, far more "European" in facies than most of those found in S. Africa, the same features are known among the Dinkas and Shilluks of the Nile, and they occur among peoples of N. Africa and S.-W. Asia with fair frequency.

Reviewing the evidence from implements, works of art and head form, one may formulate the hypothesis of spreads to Western Europe, especially *via* the Iberian Peninsula, to S. Africa, to S.-E. Asia and beyond, and north-westwards through Asia to America.

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<sup>(8)</sup> Broom, R. "A Contribution to the Craniology of the Yellow-Skinned Races of South Africa." *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LIII, 1923, pp. 132-49.

For the Acheulian culture, the spreads seem to be to S.-W. Europe, to S. Africa and to S. India; for the works of art to S.-W. Europe and to S. Africa; for the Upper Capsian and the related Tardenoisian cultures to Europe, S. Africa, S. India and Ceylon. This brief summary of some of the clearest spreads leads to the further hypothesis that the centre concerned in at least some of these cases was some part of N. Africa or S.-W. Asia, or of both. And it is in these regions that, for example, the type of skull on which emphasis has been laid above is fairly common, both in ancient graves and in modern peoples.

The reasons for these spreads of culture must sooner or later receive attention, and it is noteworthy that the field workers in both Europe and Africa are increasingly gaining evidences of marked climatic changes, and are trying to use these evidences to interpret the rise and fall of various cultures. The correlation of data from various centres is most difficult, and will need long discussion before agreement can be hoped for, but, before trying to suggest lines of thought tending towards the settling of correlations, it may be useful to offer a few general remarks.

When a culture spreads from a centre which is arid, at any rate at times, the too facile tendency has been to suggest that the people were driven out of their one-time home by drought. It seems likely that about the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. both Mesopotamia and Egypt were subject to invasions of steppe peoples, and these wanderers apparently also caused great disturbance in the early peasant culture of east central Europe. It is quite possible that this was a period of relative drought in the steppe, following a phase of greenness during which the population had increased. Again, the movements of various peoples, of whom the Dorians of Greek tradition may be mentioned as an example, about the beginning of the last millennium B.C., can, with some likelihood, be ascribed to a wet phase, during which several hill regions and some areas in N.-W. Europe became impoverished by over-wetness.

But it is important to remember that many spreads are not conditioned in the first instance by driving poverty; they may also result from increase of population and some special enthusiasm. One thinks here of the first spread of Islam. It is true that Huntington and others have ascribed this to drought in Arabia, but Musil<sup>(9)</sup> has looked into the matter with great local knowledge,

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<sup>(9)</sup> Musil, A., Author of a Series of Monographs (6 Vols.) on Arabia. Pub. Amer. Geogr. Soc., New York, 1926-8.

and he is convinced that the period was one of prosperity and of expansion in the homelands of Islam. Moreover, the Arab breed of horse was a recent development, and may have played almost as important a part in this movement of expansion as did the introduction of the horse into Egypt in the expansion of the ancient Egyptian Empire under the XVIIIth Dynasty. Another case of a spread based on home prosperity, this time in a land of limited possibilities of population, is that of the Norsemen expanding over Europe in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries A.D. Still another is that of the unprecedented spread of English-speaking people over so many lands in the Nineteenth Century, when the growth of commercial imperialism was reducing the prestige of the old hunting, landowning, farming element in England. In each of these cases one can find a driving influence behind, but the main feature is expansive energy, and such factors may have operated in very early times, though they are probably to be associated more particularly with highly organised peoples. It may be added in passing that there seems reason to look for possible links between the conquests made by Islam in N. Africa and the drifts of Bantu-speaking peoples with their intermixture of Hamitic characteristics southward through the Continent; a great shock, such as the former, may be the starting point of a number of subsequent movements.

We know nothing of the metabolism of ancient and extinct types of man, but all modern types of man, of whatever colour, find the warmest weather of intertropical regions oppressive, and seem at their best when the temperature is between 60° and 66°F., with occasional cool spells bringing temperatures well below this. This suggests that modern types of man belong by ancestry rather to the extra-tropical than to the inter-tropical regions, in which latter, Rhodesia, by virtue of its height, is one of the only countries in the Old World that would provide an approximation to the desired climate. The indications are that it was some region near to or north of the Tropic of Cancer that was concerned with the rise of modern man.

Man is descended from vegetable-feeders, but his nearest animal relatives occasionally eat flesh, and no doubt his immediate forbears did so too. At any rate, at a very early stage of his history, he became to a far larger extent a flesh feeder, and consequently a hunter. That this occurred on grasslands rather than in a forest the universality of the erect posture almost demonstrates. It is quite possible that North African grasslands, with the rich fauna

of Bovidae which characterise these regions, may be concerned. At any rate, they would furnish early zones of movement for hunting man, and it is not a matter of surprise that archaeology furnishes us with all the evidences above mentioned of early drifts of hunting groups southward through Africa. That these drifts must have had to pass through the difficult inter-tropical belt, largely forested in some early periods, is probably the most important clue to the specialisations of skin and hair universal among African natives south of the Sahara, Abyssinia and Jubaland.

It is highly improbable that the first passage from the hunting to the cultivating mode of life can have occurred in Africa south of the Sahara, Abyssinia and Jubaland. In the first place, practically no plant locally cultivated, save one of the poorer beans, seems to be native to Africa south of the Sahara. In the second place, there are many accompaniments of early agriculture that seem to be poorly developed in Africa, so far as material archaeology gives evidence. In the third place, it seems probable that such circumstances as periodic river floods depositing fertilising silt may have helped to diminish the array of problems that faced mankind when they tried to become cultivators in place of being huntsmen and collectors. The two most ancient cultivated plants are apparently wheat and barley; the latter seems native in S.-W. Asia and N.-E. Africa, the former seems to have its complex ancestry located in S.-W. Asia. The evidence on this ground, and on that of material archaeology in general, is, on the whole, in favour of an origin of cultivation, and its many attendant discoveries and inventions, in Mesopotamia or its border lands, with an early spread to the Nile, though some hitherto unexplored territories in N. Africa or in the high and well watered plateaux of the central Sahara may be drawn into the story later on. The spread of cultivation and of domestic animals southward through Africa was a process that involved difficulties of climate in the inter-tropical zone, and of insect and other pests throughout; the spread of this type of life southward through Africa seems to be a spread with impoverishment of equipment and methods among peoples limited by specialisations of their physical structure and organisation due to the difficulties of inter-tropical super-heating. North of the Sahara, in N.-E. Africa and S.-W. Asia, cultivation led on to high-grade trade and religious organisation, and with this came growth of villages into cities, but that great phase of evolution is almost

absent in native Africa south of the Sahara, the few partial exceptions only emphasising the value of this generalisation.

On the whole, therefore, there is ground for the hypothesis that grasslands in North Africa and S.-W. Asia have probably played a large part in the rise and spread of modern types of man. But these regions are, to a large extent, very arid nowadays, and it is necessary to go into the question of changes of climate if we are to get to the heart of the story<sup>(10)</sup>. There are evidences of change of climate in Egypt, Uganda, Kenya and Rhodesia at least, but the correlation of the changes in different regions is still difficult.

We may start from the facts of the present belts of climate of the north-western quadrant of the Old World. The Arctic belt of snow and ice is fringed to the south by a belt of low atmospheric pressure and cyclones moving in procession eastwards over the North Atlantic. It is true that the Arctic area has low pressures, but a layer of air over the ice has a low temperature and a marked density, and, as it were, buffets back the low pressure air over the surface of the sea. The belt of the temperate westerlies follows next, and naturally tends to stretch farther south in winter, so that one may speak in theory of a belt of winter westerlies, south of the belt of general westerlies. In practice, this belt is modified by the relations of the solid high block of the Iberian Peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea on the one hand, and to the Atlantic on the other. Next, farther south, is the broad belt of winter high pressure and intense summer heat, the wide arid areas of the Sahara and Arabia. Beyond this are regions of seasonal convectional rains modified by monsoon conditions in the Gulf of Guinea. The approach to the equator gives heavier rain where maritime influences penetrate, but there is at least partial aridity in rain-shadow areas, a partial aridity that is due, perhaps, more to high evaporation and rapid run-off after heavy showers than to lack of precipitation.

The probable positions of the corresponding belts when, at various periods in the Pleistocene era, large parts of Europe were under ice may be argued out. The prime fact is that the Arctic belt would extend much farther south. The belt of cyclones and westerlies would lie in what are now Mediterranean latitudes, and would be modified by the interposition of the Iberian Peninsula between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. What those modifications would be likely to be is still in doubt; it is likely that the west

(10) See Fleure, H. J. "Some Early Neanthropic Types in Europe and Their Modern Representatives." *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, L, 1920, pp. 12-40.

part of the Peninsula would be very wet and its heights very cold, and that the Mediterranean would have a system of cyclones of its own with the Atlantic cyclones sweeping through at times. The belt of westerlies would extend southwards in winter over a large part of what is now the Sahara and Arabia, and the belt of winter high pressure and arid summer heat would lie farther south than it does now, probably in the Sudan. It would also be narrower than now, and the compression of climatic belts towards the equator would be a marked feature. The coolness of the atmosphere generally would make precipitation much more effective by lessening evaporation, especially near the equator, and this would be a factor of a pluvial period, which one would expect to be more marked and more delicately graded where relief is stronger than in lowlands, *e.g.*, one might have a more elaborate sequence in some parts of Kenya than in some parts of Uganda.

Before proceeding to questions of correlation of different regions, one must note that there would be some complications. For example, a region of mountain-fed rivers, even if in an arid belt, would carry on the wet phases for a long time after these had ended in regions of similar geographical position, but not fed with water from high mountains. This would smooth out curves of relative aridity to some extent, and might even obscure a relatively short period of aridity, by maintenance of a water supply until the arid period was over. Sir Aurel Stein has shown the importance of this consideration in Central Asia, and there is reason to allow for it in the study of variations of climate in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Another most difficult question is that of the condition of the Southern Hemisphere when the Ice Sheets were large in the Northern. At present the hyetal and thermal equators lie, in general, north of the geographical equator. It is doubtful whether the influence of the disposition of the land upon surface currents of the ocean would be very different in Pleistocene times; but perhaps the large amount of ice-covered land during an Ice Age in the Northern Hemisphere would move the heat equator a little farther south than it now lies. On the whole, it is likely that the Antarctic Continent would have an even farther-spread ice-sheet than now, and, with a larger Antarctic Ice Sheet, more of South Africa would feel the wet westerlies in winter than is now the case. The relatively cold water off the west coast would probably have more influence than now, but the aridity that is connected with it would affect a region overlapping with the present arid region of the south-

west coast and interior, stretching, however, somewhat farther north and less far to the south. Conditions on the east of Africa are more difficult to understand because of the problems of the Indian monsoon. If, as is highly probable, there was, in a glacial phase, snow-melting on an immense scale on the southern flanks of the mountains bordering India, the Indo-Gangetic lowland must have been much wetter than now, and the superheating effect correspondingly diminished. Moreover, the highlands of Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan would appear to have been cooler than now. It may, therefore, be suggested that the centres of low pressure and warmth which now draw in the summer monsoon were less marked in Pleistocene glacial phases. A consequence of this would be that the south-east trades of the Indian Ocean would be less deflected towards India and would reach farther into East Africa, as my friend, Mr. Estyn Evans, has suggested to me. This would be one factor of highly pluvial conditions at such a time in Kenya, and when this factor was most marked it might affect Uganda as well. The outblowing winds from India between October and March would probably be stronger than now, and they might well give more rain to East Africa than they now do. But all this is necessarily mere *a priori* hypothesis to be submitted to examination on the spot.

We may provisionally suggest a correspondence of Glacial conditions in Europe with Pluvial conditions in the Mediterranean Basin and Mesopotamia, seasonal rains in the Sahara and Arabia, desert in the Sudan and Pluvial conditions on the equator, even in regions now relatively dry, because they are in a partial rain shadow. But this does not yet give us the key we really need, for there follows the difficult question, raised by Breuil at the 1929 meeting of the British and South African Associations, of the great differences in Ice Phases between different parts of Europe. Which shall we take for comparison with Pluvials in Africa? The phases of the Pleistocene Ice Age have been studied especially in and around the European Alps by Penck<sup>(11)</sup> and Brückner, and in Fennoscandia by De Geer<sup>(12)</sup>, Ramsay<sup>(13)</sup> and others; a recent

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(11) Penck, A., und Brückner. "Die Alpen im Eiszeitalter." Leipzig, 1909.

(12) De Geer, G. "A Geochronology of the Last 12,000 Years." *Comptes Rendus, XIe Congrès Géologique International*, Stockholm, Publ. 1912.

(13) Ramsay, W. "Relations Between Crustal Movements and Variations of Sea Level During Late Quaternary Times in Fennoscandia." *Bull. Comm. Géol.*, Finlande, No. 66, 1924.

useful statement (in English) being that by Sauramo<sup>(14)</sup>. The comparison of phases in the different districts of Europe still gives ground for differences of opinion, and this suggests the danger of generalisation concerning the parallelism of the phases noted in Africa with those of some particular region or system worked out in Europe. The danger seems to lie chiefly in the attempt, in the present state of knowledge, to apply correlations in detail. We may use as a working hypothesis the idea that, when Europe was going through a really warm phase, the rainfall in equatorial regions would be relatively light in a rain shadow area, i.e., there would be arid conditions in parts of the Rift Valley in Kenya. It is more dangerous to argue that the smaller oscillations would be parallel in the two continents, especially as these oscillations, even some important ones, are dissimilar in different parts of Europe. Thus, the Riss moraines are said to be far less developed in Russia than in North-Western Europe, while the Würm moraines are, on the other hand, very large in Eastern Europe.

It may, therefore, be most useful at the present stage to enquire what were the chief returns of warm conditions to Europe during the Pleistocene Ice Age. One of the points on which there is a near approach to agreement is that after Penck's Gunz and Mindel-Ice Ages there was a long period of warmth, the "grande phase interglaciaire" of Boule, and Gagel<sup>(15)</sup> has shown that vines, magnolia, ash, elm, etc., abounded in Europe north of the Alps at that time, and it was a time when the land lay relatively low and the sea invaded such lowlands as those of Holland and Prussia. The Hötting Breccia<sup>(16)</sup> near Innsbruck gives evidence of a relatively warm flora, including *Rhododendron Ponticum* and *Buxus sempervirens*, now living 5° of latitude nearer the equator, while truly alpine plants do not occur. In that phase, therefore, the ice sheets of Europe must have disappeared, or, at any rate, must have been even less than they now are. Most other "interglacial" phases do not give corresponding indications of a warm climate, or, at least, such indications are not so generally accepted as they are for

<sup>(14)</sup> Sauramo, M. "Quaternary Geology of Finland." *Bull. Comm. Géol., Finlande*, No. 86, 1929.

<sup>(15)</sup> Gagel, C. "Die Beweise für eine mehrfache Vereisung Norddeutschlands in diluvialer Zeit." *Geol. Rundschau*, IV, 1913.

<sup>(16)</sup> See Penck, A. "Die Höttinger Breccia." *Abhandl. Preuss. Akad.* 1920-21 (Phys.-Math. Kl.). The classical description of the flora of the Breccia was written by Von Wettstein, R. "Die fossile Flora der Höttinger Breccie." *Denkschr. d. Math-Naturw. Kl. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, LIX, 1892, etc.

the phase after the Mindel Ice Age. The phases of the Ice Age which follow this great interglacial period in the Penck system are named Riss<sup>(17)</sup>, Würm and Bühl; but in recent years Penck has made an adjustment<sup>(18)</sup> of his scheme, on the ground that he is no longer satisfied about any markedly interglacial conditions (Achsenschwankung) between Würm and Bühl. It is probable, on the whole, that the ice sheets did not disappear either between Riss and Würm, or between Würm and Bühl phases, though there may have been a relatively mild period between Riss and Würm.

Whatever may be accepted in the end concerning the succession of Riss, Würm and Bühl Ice Ages, there is very general agreement on the point that a climatic optimum affected Europe some time after the Bühl Ice advance. This optimum is apparently represented in the north-west by the spread of various plants in Finland<sup>(19)</sup> some 2° of latitude north of their present limits, and by the expansion of sea at the expense of land (litorina transgression) in the Baltic area, following a period of partial amelioration of climate (period of the Aneylus Lake in the Baltic area), but separated from it by a relatively short cold phase that seems fairly clear in the Alps, though not in the Baltic area, and is known in the Penck system as the Gschnitz phase of ice-advance.

There are thus, it is fairly generally agreed, two periods during which the climate of Europe has been appreciably warmer than now since the beginning of the Pleistocene Ice Age. One is the Mindel-Riss interglacial phase, a very long period. The other is the post Bühl phase broken by the short Gschnitz return of ice. The Fennoscandian observers think the Litorina Sea reached its maximum at some period about or after 4,000 B.C., and it is likely that the Gschnitz cold phase preceded this, i.e., occurred, let us suppose, in the fifth millennium B.C. Miss Caton Thompson thinks there was a period of plentiful water in Egypt at about this time; and the evidence of De Morgan (at Susa), Woolley (at Ur of the Chaldees) and Langdon (at Kish) establishes as a fact a period of floods in lower Mesopotamia in the early days of Sumerian culture.

<sup>(17)</sup> Penck notes that the Höttinger Breccia rests on what is apparently a Mindel moraine and has above it a Würm moraine.

<sup>(18)</sup> Penck, A. "Ablagerungen u. Schichstörungen der Letzten Inter-glacialzeit in den Nördlichen Alpen." *Sitz.-Ber. der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XIX-XX, 1922, pp. 214-251.

<sup>(19)</sup> Sauramo, M. "Quaternary Geology of Finland." *Bulletin Comm. Géol.*, Finlande, No. 86, 1929, esp. p. 96.

With these ideas in mind, it may be useful to turn to Leakey's results, and to those of Wayland<sup>(20)</sup> in Uganda, and to see whether it is possible to help towards an interpretation. If we are right in our general perspective of Leakey's and Solomon's observations, it would seem that after the period of the great Eburrian Lake there was a phase of dry conditions and large earth-movements. It may be permissible to suggest as a basis of future thought that this may correspond roughly with the Mindel-Riss interglacial phase of Europe. The other possible correlation seems to be that of the late Gamblian aridity of Leakey and Solomon, broken by the Makalian Lake phase in the Nakuru Basin, but otherwise continuing onwards, with the post glacial phase in Europe broken by the Gschnitz ice-advance in the Alps, an ice advance that may link itself with the flood conditions of the Euphrates and the wet conditions in the lower Nile above mentioned. This suggestion is very tentative, and much will depend on the data concerning extinct fauna that may, or may not, be obtained from Leakey's and Solomon's Makalian deposits.

Whatever correlations may, or may not, be established, it is at any rate a great gain that Leakey has been able to demonstrate lake deposits in succession resting on land-surfaces without hint of tectonic disturbance after the beginning of the deposition of the Enderian Lake deposits. The fact that the Enderian is separated from the Gamblian Lake deposits above it by a land surface (without, however, marked signs of aridity) suggests further fairly important oscillations of climate, the correlation of which it may be well to leave undiscussed for the present. The possibility that some of these changes may be due to slight earth-movements rather than to climatic changes is small, but should not be altogether forgotten.

Wayland, in Uganda, has found evidences of Pluvial periods with implements that seem on the whole to belong to three series: the first series (Kafuan) to a pre-Chelian culture; the second series (Sangoan) to a culture which Wayland has suggested is more or less Mousterian, but this seems a little doubtful; and the third series (Magosian) considered by Wayland to be related to the epi-Palaeolithic cultures of Europe. Reck's results at Oldoway and other work in Tanganyika are expected to throw a good deal of light

<sup>(20)</sup> See Wayland, E. J. *First Ann. Rep. Geol. Survey, Uganda, 1920.* "African Pluvial Periods and Prehistoric Man." "*Man,*" 1929 (July), No. 88.

on the problems here discussed. Neville Jones has published a valuable account of a sequence of cultures in Rhodesia, in which Chellian and Acheulian are followed by a combination (in some sense) of Mousterian and Aurignacian ideas, while Armstrong's results at the Bambata Cave in Southern Rhodesia, from a preliminary statement, seem likely to provide a further important link between the discoveries in Kenya and Uganda and those made in the Union of South Africa; the extension of investigations into South-West Africa and Angola is much to be desired. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the Broken Hill skull found in Rhodesia, while primarily "Neanderthal" in character, has some indications of Neanthropic features.

It may be useful to attempt to sum up the present state of knowledge in a tentative synthetic sketch that will no doubt need much alteration, but that, nevertheless, may be suggested to workers in various regions.

The resemblance of the Stellenbosch and other African cultures to the Chellian and Acheulian of Europe, and to corresponding cultures in South India, is an outstanding fact, and these cultures show every sign of having reached Europe from Africa, for in Europe they are confined to the south-west. They are cultures of hunting and collecting peoples, and one may suggest that, whether they originated there or not, and there are suggestions that some part of Central Asia may have been their primeval home, North Africa or S.-W. Asia was at any rate a secondary centre from which they diverged to S.-W. Europe, to S. India and to Equatorial and South Africa. It may be that they originated in N. Africa in one of the earlier phases, perhaps the earliest phase of the European Ice Age, when *ex hypothese* a considerable extent of North Africa which is now desertic would have been better watered. The long maintenance of standard types of implements in these cultures in each region suggests minds dominated by custom, and this helps us to understand the resemblances that are so striking between these cultures in Europe, India and South Africa. The occurrence of implements of Acheulian types in the Eburrian deposits in Kenya suggests that the people concerned reached as far south as Kenya in a fairly early phase of the European Ice Age, whatever correlation may later be established. This would suggest that the migrations of Acheulian culture started southward earlier than they started northward into S.-W. Europe, and would interpret their spreads as, essentially, responses to climatic change. In Africa, as in Europe,

the Acheulian culture has the rough Chellian as its forerunner, but the African rough Chellian is hardly well enough known from Central Africa to make discussion profitable. The spread of Acheulian culture on to South Africa may well be later; the route of that spread should be traceable as discoveries of sites multiply.

The story of the spread of Mousterian cultures must be left for the present. There is every reason to suppose that, in Europe, they are earlier than the Aurignacian, and it has been thought by some that they are earlier in Central than in Western Europe, though Breuil's recent discoveries may modify this view. In Central and probably in South Africa the two cultures are contemporary and sometimes intermingled. It may be that in this case we are dealing with a spread from Europe southwards. The need for information from India is an urgent one.

The early Capsian culture of North Africa and South-West Asia seems to be the ancestor of the Aurignacian cultures of Europe, and may have spread into Europe *via* the south-west from Africa (with sculpturings and rock paintings as a feature), and *via* the south-east and centre from S.-W. Asia (without rock paintings), or by one other of these routes. It probably spread into Kenya on the north and north-east of the Nile swamps (as it seems Leakey thinks), and in Kenya it attained a rich and magnificent development in the Gamblian phase, thanks to the obsidian of Mount Eburru. In Kenya this Aurignacian culture is contemporary with the Mousterian; the two exist side by side and, in due course, intermingle. Here, also, the Gamblian deposits with their Aurignacian implements become poor in their upper layers as desert conditions establish themselves. Above the desertic strata is the Makalian series of lake deposits yielding implements that strangely resemble those of the Magdalenian in Europe, as well as beads in bone and stone and some decorated pottery. It is from the Makalian that Leakey has derived hyperdolichocephalic skulls with such European characters as a very long and narrow nose. We lack any adequate information about these cultures in India.

With the Aurignacian and early Capsian culture there enter into consideration types of skull different from those of the Mousterian culture, as well as from the Piltdown skull and other possible early remains. The Aurignacian and early Capsian culture is associated with the earliest examples of modern types of men thus far known. They are not by any means all of one type, and a preliminary statement and list on this subject will be found in "Hunters and

Artists" (Vol. II of the "Corridors of Time"), all, however, are long-skulled, whereas the previously existing human types seem all to have had less elongated skulls. The cranial index of early types of man, if measured without the great frontal torus characteristic of the Neanderthal (and Broken Hill) types, is nearly 80, whereas, in one group of skulls of the Aurignacian or Capsian phase, the indices run between about 67 and 72, and, in another, they gather around 75. This leaves out of consideration for the present the skulls found by M. Henri Martin at Solutré.

The skulls of the Aurignacian and Capsian phases lack the great frontal torus of the Neanderthal type, but those of low index (*i.e.*, the longest) often have strong supraciliaries, sometimes with fairly strong supraorbitals, though these last may not be marked. Those of low index typically have the basi-bregmatic height about equal to, or greater than, the maximum parietal breadth, and the head is often more or less ridged along the median line. The cheek bones are usually powerful, and in these same types the face is long. One of the most important of these skulls is that from Combe Capelle in the Dordogne in France. Skulls of this type seem to result from a growth somewhat different from that undergone by early types. It may well be that the conspicuous reduction of the frontal torus and face has given the skull more liberty to expand forwards, and the corresponding weakening of the muscles and tendons that previously held up the heavy skull and jaw at the back has given it more liberty to expand backwards. Men of this type were, however, still huntsmen living on flesh food to a large extent, and, in their stage of cultural development, this undoubtedly implied strong and early growth of the temporal muscles, limiting the expansion of the skull at the sides. It may be added that the admissibility of these ideas of a dynamic character in a consideration of skull-form seems more justifiable than formerly, since Brash's work has become known. In some cases, perhaps in most, the new form of skull seems associated with an increased size of brain, and it is interesting that the Aurignacian and Capsian cultures yield strong evidence of an increase of initiative and self-expression, which indicates an increase of complexity of brain-structure. This must not be interpreted as meaning that intelligence in modern man is proportionate to the size of brain. Tools are now much differentiated for different purposes, the idea of hafting or fixing into wood soon comes in, and painting and engraving are practised, and so on. In the cases of

men with cephalic indices round about 75, the old man of Cro-Magnon and some few others seem to show, by the form of their cheek bones, a considerable development of the masseter muscles, and their faces in these cases are relatively short. They appear to illustrate a form of growth more evenly distributed as between length and breadth. In them the basi-bregmatic height is typically much less than the parietal breadth of the skull. It should be added that the Grimaldi Caves have yielded individuals with many skull characters of the first type, associated with facial characters of the second.

Mention should be made here of the Boskop skull, which has been claimed by Pycraft (21) to correspond closely with that of Cro-Magnon, so far as the part preserved can be studied. It will be useful to quote here a statement, concerning new evidence for this type, made by Dart in "South Africa and Science" (1929): "Between 1923 and 1926, by the unearthing of remains by Mr. Fitzsimons, at Zitzikama, near Port Elizabeth, and by Major T. G. Trevor, at Kalomo in Northern Rhodesia, it was shown that the Boskop type of mankind was a very distinctive one with a wide-spread distribution in Southern Africa. Mr. H. S. Gear has been able to give us much information concerning the Boskop skeleton, and two other points of great importance were established: firstly, that Boskop man preceded the Bushman, because his remains have been found at lower stratigraphical levels than Bush remains at Zitzikama and other sites along the coastal area; and, secondly, that the type was not so removed zoologically from the Bush type as to rule out hybridisation between the two races. The most startling evidence in this latter respect came from the occurrence in the dissecting room of the Anatomy Department at Capetown of a typical Boskopoid skull, as announced by Professor Drennan in 1925. Actual Boskopoid hybridisation amongst the Zitzikama material of the higher Bush levels at Zitzikama was demonstrated by Dr. Gordon D. Laing (1925)."

In the meantime we also have the interesting recent discovery of a skull at Fish-hoek, associated with a culture of "Still Bay" type (*i.e.*, mainly Mousterian). This discovery is due to the well-directed energy of Messrs. Peers, who have made Fish-hoek Cave of considerable importance in studies of Man. The specimen has been described by Drennan, who notes the great length of the skull

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(21) Pycraft, W. P. "On the Calvaria Found at Boskop." *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, LV, 1925.

(199.5 mm.) and its breadth (151.0 mm.), giving a cranial index of 75.7, with a contour much like that of the Cro-Magnon cranium. As in that type, the basibregmatic height is low (123 mm.). The face is small and Bushman-like, and the nose rather broad (nasal index 59.5). There is an edge-to-edge bite, and the teeth are small, but the face is markedly prognathous. The stature is low (1,575 mm.).

The first type (with very long, narrow, high skull) is of considerable interest, for it survives, more or less modified it is true, in Sardinia, Trasos Montes (Portugal), the Dordogne, some Welsh moorlands, probably Ireland and Sweden, and very probably in several other relatively remote spots in Europe. In Equatorial and South Africa it is represented by some of Leakey's skulls from the Makalian phase and by the skull from the Springbok Flats studied by Broom. Leakey has not yet been able to examine in detail an important skeleton from the Gamblian deposits (Aurignacian culture). A similar sort of skull, in some details at least, seems to occur among the Dinkas and Shilluks, could no doubt be found in Kenya among living people, and is to be seen, mingled with "Bushman" traits, in South Africa among Broom's Koranas.

Looking eastwards we note the same essential type in the Veddas of Ceylon and in jungle tribes of S. India, in some Papuans, in the native Australians, and in the hill peoples of Fiji. A review of its distribution in America and N.-E. Asia may be omitted for the sake of brevity.

Returning to Africa, this notion of the change of form of growth of the skull associated with the Capsian phase of culture permits a tentative, perhaps hazardous, interpretation of some other types of skull, namely, those typical of most pygmies in both Africa and Asia, as well as of the type known as that of the "Bushman." The skulls concerned have an index near 80, and are small. May they not be the survivals of types in which for some reason the change of form of growth above mentioned did not occur? There are indications, which Broom has studied, that these skulls show an arrest of growth, and are, perhaps, best named paedogenetic. The adults, in other words, retain juvenile characters, most notably in the forehead region, which seems to show such marked growth in the other types above discussed. As changes of the forehead are a great feature of the growth of children, even as they approach adolescence, this juvenility of forehead seems significant in the

case of small-headed men of low growth, and, it would appear, early maturity. This type of skull is evidently very old established in S. Africa, though it may not yet have arrived there when the other types above noted appeared.

The southward spread or spreads through Africa of the very long-headed type of man, with long face and narrow nose, is clearly associated with Pluvial and probably relatively cool phases in Kenya, according to Leakey's evidence. May it be that the spread of the small, short heads through Africa is connected rather with hot phases of climate, especially in wet forests or arid wastes where food is poor and scarce, and growth stunted, both on this account and because of the hurrying of puberty through heat? We may legitimately suppose that the skin colour of early man in Africa was brown. Survivals of Aurignacian types in Europe are usually more pigmented than their neighbours, and Shaxby<sup>(22)</sup> has shown that traces of brown pigment remain even in pure blondes. That the skin colour was lighter than that of the typical negro or Bantu is suggested by the relative lightness of colour in many Bushmen, Koranas and Pigmies. It is questionable whether the skin was a highly vascular, as it is in many Bantu and West African negroes. At the same time, the all but universality of kinky hair (Professor Cipriani thinks there are a few partial exceptions) in Bantu Africa suggests that this may have been an ancestral feature of the drifts of man southward through Africa. The so-called Willendorf Venus, a sculptured figurine from the upper Palaeolithic of Central Europe, has her hair represented as though it were kinky, so the character may have been widespread in early times.

The next spread of culture to be discussed is that which is known as End-Capsian in N. Africa and as Azilian and Tardenoisian in Europe. Like some of the earlier ones, the spread went eastwards to South India and Ceylon. It is also traceable through Africa, and to it belong Wayland's Magosian culture from Uganda and the Wilton culture so widely distributed from Kenya to the Cape of Good Hope. Just as, in the case of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian cultures in Kenya, pottery occurs which farther north belongs to phases of culture long subsequent to those bearing these names, so, in the case of the Wilton and the contemporary Nakuru culture, we find in Kenya associated evidence of agriculture, whereas agriculture farther north belongs to a later phase. As

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<sup>(22)</sup> Shaxby, J. H., and Bonnell, H. E. "On Skin Colour." *Man*, 1928 (April), No. 42.

beads of the third millenium with Egyptian and other affinities, as well as stone bowls, are characteristic objects of the Nakuru culture, there can be no doubt that it is later than the corresponding culture north of the Sahara. It may well, therefore, be that the other phases of Kenya culture are also later there than in more northern lands. Whether, however, one can make the Kenya Aurignacian culture late enough to allow of its having received the addition of pottery from known cultures north of the Sahara that possessed pottery is doubtful. It has been hinted above that possibly the Makalian phase in Kenya might be associated with the Gschnitz phase which seems to be identifiable in the Near East and Europe. But this makes the Gamblian phase of Leakey's sequence much older than pottery known up to the present elsewhere.

It is with the Wilton culture that physical types akin to the modern natives in skeleton appear in Kenya, and this is one of the most interesting of recent additions to knowledge concerning mankind. The apparently contemporary Nakuru culture seems associated with survivals of the older types of skull above discussed. We have already seen that old long-headed types had already drifted into Africa, and the suggestion has been ventured that probably the "Bushman" and Pigmy types with short, small heads had also drifted through Africa in early times. It has further been suggested that probably these early types had the kinky hair of the modern native and were brownish skinned, less dark than modern African peoples are as a rule. We are, therefore, dealing in connection with the Nakuru culture with a type that is probably darker than its predecessors, and that has skull characters which now fall to be indicated. But reference must first be made to a change that occurs in the type of skull in Europe after the Palaeolithic Age. Whereas in the Upper Palaeolithic deposits skulls are very often hyperdolichocephalic, apart from those of Cro-Magnon and at Solutré, and a few more, that extreme character becomes less common in later Europe. In later types growth is somewhat more evenly distributed as between breadth and length, and more skulls have cranial indices of 72-78 than of 68-72. It is claimed that there is a possibility of a change of mode of growth under reduced pressure of the temporal muscles. Now, several African populations have cephalic indices (on the living head) of 72 or 73 to 79, and the probability is that changes of growth went on in due course among those who drifted south as they did among people spreading in Europe farther north. There are populations like the Dinkas and

Shilluks, whose cephalic indices and many other characters point to their retention of ancient features, and there are broad-headed elements here and there, but the general type is that with a moderately long head. It is rather a misfortune that possession of a head with cephalic index below or above 75 has so often been supposed to differentiate dolichocephals from mesocephals. The morphological cleft seems to come somewhere about 72 on the skull, or about 73·5 on the living head; with indices below that the type is truly hyperdolichocephalic. The next morphological cleft seems to occur about 77·5 on the skull, or 78·5 on the living head, and this would be a useful upper limit of dolichocephaly were it generally recognised.

The cephalic index must not be made over-important; there are other characters that play most important parts in the definition of African types. The change of mode of growth referred to has apparently, in both Europe and Africa, made the median skull-ridge of rare occurrence, and African skulls most often have a long, flat top with some width ere one reaches the slope for the insertion of the temporal muscles.

The forehead is vertical and often shows the bosses that elsewhere are a feature of childhood and womanhood, but disappear in most men. This character may be one derived from the Pigmy and Bushman strains that have undoubtedly affected the African peoples, or it may be, as probably it is in the case of the Pigmy, a result of the hastening of maturity in a warm climate. Somewhat similar remarks might be offered concerning the broad, short, flat nose and so on. But this is not the place to enter into a detailed or technical discussion of African skulls and skeletons. The intention is rather to suggest that in the course of time modifications of skull-growth supervened in Africa as in Europe, on not very different lines; that, just as Aurignacian types persist in Europe somewhat modified, so also in Africa ancient hyperdolichocephals and possibly ancient small and short heads persist here and there, and also influence populations in many parts. It further seems probable that darkening of skin has increased as might be expected in a period of warmth such as Africa seems to have had for a long time. Melanin is an excretory product, the African skin is specialised to do a large amount of excretory work, and so it is natural that this product should accumulate. A certain amount of it is apparently of great value in stopping the ultraviolet and the visible solar rays

of shorter wave-length, which share with the ultraviolet rays a dangerous histolytic power. These are, however, only hints and suggestions to help workers on the spot to test the thought that African types are a historic product of an environment that is difficult because of great heat and intense solar radiation, and a product that has evolved in all probability since the last great Pluvial period. It may be that this idea, when tested, will have to be given up, but the sketch here given at least suggests clues to the interpretation, both of the apparently late appearance of the characteristic modern African types, and of the marked variations that occur among them.

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# THE STONE-HUT SETTLEMENT ON TAFELKOP, NEAR BETHAL.

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## I.—INTRODUCTION.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 57 (1927), Mr. C. van Riet Lowe, B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., published an article entitled "A Preliminary Report on the Stone Huts of Vechtkop."

At the end of this article, Mr. Lowe mentions that he had discovered, up to that time, the remains of fourteen different stone-hut settlements in the North-Eastern area of the Orange Free State; that he had heard of two settlements in the Southern Transvaal; that his enquiries in Southern Rhodesia had brought forth no evidence of any such huts having been found there; but that he thought some might be found in Bechuanaland when that country came to be more thoroughly explored by archaeologists. Mr. Lowe's map, attached to his article, places the two settlements reported from the Southern Transvaal just across the Vaal, almost due south of Johannesburg, in closest proximity to the settlement area in the Free State.

The interest of the Tafelkop Settlement to be described in this article is threefold:—

1. It is larger and, apparently, in a better state of preservation than the Vechtkop Settlement.
2. Lying to the north of the main road from Bethal to Ermelo, it is in the Eastern Transvaal, many miles away from the Vechtkop area; nor have any traces of similar settlements been so far discovered in the intervening country.
3. Whilst in general bearing out Mr. Lowe's conclusions, based on Vechtkop evidence, the Tafelkop Settlement presents some interesting features of its own.

Moreover, in view of Mr. Lowe's remark about the possibility of stone-huts being found in Bechuanaland, it will be interesting to bring into this article the only record of such huts to be found, so far as we are aware, in the literature, viz., the account by A. A.

Anderson in his *Twenty-five Years in a Wagon in the Gold Regions of S. Africa*, of stone-huts in the Marico (Zeerust) district of the North-Western Transvaal adjoining the Bechuanaland border.

The investigation of the Tafelkop Settlement was made possible by a grant from the Bantu Studies Research Grant Fund of the University of the Witwatersrand, which we hereby gratefully acknowledge. Special thanks, too, are further due to Mr. Shone, land surveyor in Bethal, from whom we not only received our first information about the Settlement, but who showed us the way to the site and made a careful survey of it for our use. Moreover, he and Mrs. Shone made us at home in their house, and memories of their delightful hospitality are pleasantly interwoven with our recollections of three sunny, but windy, winter days spent in the plateau of Tafelkop. Lastly, we have to thank the owners of the farm on which Tafelkop is situated, Mr. and Mrs. Dannhauser, for permission to explore and dig, and for the fragrant "koppies koffie" with which they refreshed us before and after our labours.

## 2.—THE SITE OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Tafelkop is a prominent spur in a low range of hills to the north of the Bethal-Ermelo main road. To the south it drops fairly steeply into the undulating plain through which that road runs. To the north, the flat top, or "table," which gives the Kop its name, slopes gently back until it drops sharply into a subsidiary kloof, through which a small stream with a waterfall runs to join a larger stream in the deep valley lying along the eastern slope of the Kop. The waterfall in the kloof is only a few minutes' walk from the Settlement, and was obviously its chief water supply, though in the dry, winter season it must often have been supplemented from the perennial river in the valley below. On the west, the plateau of Tafelkop merges insensibly into the plateaus of the adjoining hills.

From the highest point of Tafelkop there is an extensive view over the plains to the south, the valley to the east and the hill-tops to north and west. At the same time, the Settlement is placed well towards the rear-end of the northern slope, so that it is quite invisible from the south and east, and only comes into view at comparatively close distance from north and west. If a proper look-out was kept from the highest point of Tafelkop, the approach of an enemy must normally have been noticed long before the enemy could himself become aware of the Settlement.



No. 1.—General view of Tafelkop Settlement, looking east. The far skyline belongs to a plateau separated from the settlement by a wide valley.



No. 2.—Back view of a broken hut, looking through towards entrance; shows method of construction.



At the present-day remains of low, circular walls, belonging to Bantu cattle kraals of later date, dot the slope between the Settlement and the highest point. A number of modern Bantu graves, three of which we excavated, are associated with these kraals. The cattle kraals belonging to the Settlement, on the other hand, appear, as at Vechtkop, to have been closely associated with the stone-huts themselves, as are also a number of middens scattered around the outer fringes of the hut groups.

### 3.—THE SETTLEMENT: (a) THE SMALL HUT GROUP.

The Settlement consists, apart from a few single huts which here, as at Vechtkop, are found isolated from, but close to, the usual clusters or rings of huts, of two groups: a large and somewhat straggling complex of huts, and a small, compact ring (or rather oval) situated to the north-west of the larger group and further down the slope. Photograph No. 1 shows the general appearance of the large hut group.

The smaller group consists of thirteen huts arranged around an oval inner court, and of an isolated fourteenth hut near the entrance to the oval, but to one side of it. Of the thirteen huts, five are in a partially dilapidated condition, but the other eight are among the best preserved in the whole Settlement. Fig. 1 shows the arrangement of this smaller group.

The individual huts correspond in size and method of construction entirely to those at Vechtkop. Naturally, the measurements vary somewhat. The largest hut had an *outside* measurement, in the axis from door to back, of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ft., with *inside* measurements in the same axis of 7 ft., and in the side-to-side axis of 6 ft. The smallest hut measured by us had inside measurements of 5 ft. and 4 ft. respectively. The average, as at Vechtkop, was 5 ft. to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. from front to back, 4 ft. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in height.

The method of construction was to cantilever undressed doleritic boulders, collected from the plentiful supply on the plateau, in courses over each other, until the opening became small enough to be closed by three long, flat slabs. The entrance consists usually of a gap in the lowest course, roofed over by a lintel consisting of a single specially large and heavy slab. Photograph No. 2, where the spectator looks into a dilapidated hut through the broken back wall towards the entrance, exhibits the cantilever principle of

building. Photograph No. 3 illustrates the appearance of a single hut; the big slab lying just in front of the entrance was used to close the hut at night.

The usual entrance is so low and narrow (average dimensions: 18 in. wide, 12 in. to 16 in. high) that the only method of getting in and out is to wriggle flat on one's chest. Even then a man of average height and breadth of shoulder has some difficulty in performing the feat, though, no doubt, European clothes are a handicap (see Photograph No. 4). Still, even without clothes, stout individuals among the original inhabitants, or women in the later stages of pregnancy, must have experienced great trouble in using these doors.

Indeed, it is extremely difficult to imagine how these huts can with any comfort have been used as habitations by people who, to judge from the size and weight of the boulders which they lifted, must have been of normal height and strength. No full-grown man or woman can stand or even lie at full length in one of these huts. A kneeling posture is just possible in the very centre of the hut, round the sides only a low crouch or a sitting posture with trunk bent uncomfortably forward are feasible. Anyone who were to try and lie at full length in the only axis which might conceivably permit of this, viz., the door-to-back axis, would block the door.

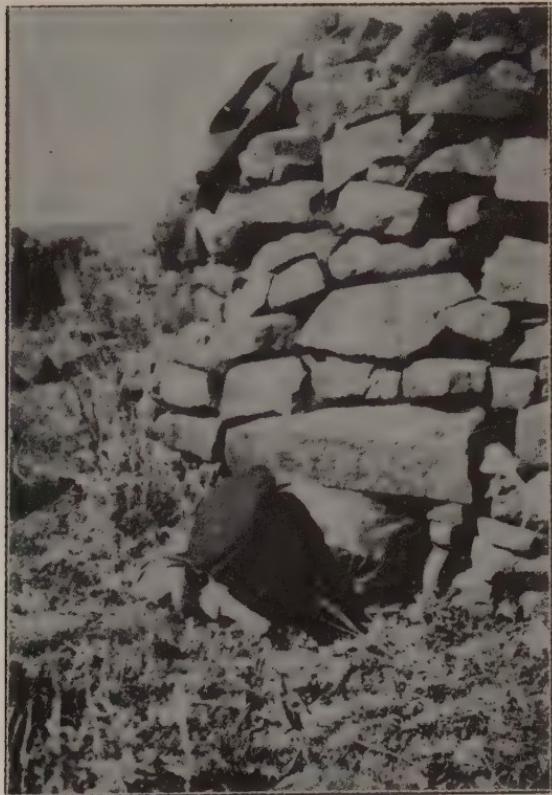
That there is no sign of fire in any of the huts is perhaps intelligible. For, apart from the smoke nuisance, a fire would have limited the available space, already cramped, beyond endurance, and, if placed according to native custom, to one side of the entrance, it would have threatened everyone who moved through the door with burning.

Again, it is inconceivable that the large and heavy closing stone could have been dragged across the opening by anyone inside the hut. A man lying flat on his chest, with his shoulders wedged between the door-stones, is physically not able to exert the strength of pull and lift which is necessary to drag the closing stone into an upright position across the door. One can only suppose that the huts were usually closed by men—perhaps watchers—who remained outside.

Finally, as at Vechtkop, there are, or at least there have remained, in the huts no signs of any sort of wooden wedges, or other supports, fixed between the stones, on which kalabashes, skins, and utensils might be hung. Even if we make allowance for



No. 3.—Isolated hut, with large stone for closing entrance.



No. 4.—Professor Hoernlé emerging from entrance to hut shown on photograph No. 3.



plundering by enemies or, later, by passing strangers and curious visitors, the huts have a singularly unhomely and uninhabited air. A very few broken potsherds were the only signs of habitation we could find, and these belong probably to later pottery than that of the original builders. A rusty spearhead, discovered in a heap of tumbled stones which may once have been a hut, was the only remains of a weapon we found. It is of the same simple blade type as the two middle specimens figured by Mr. Lowe on page 223 of his article.

But to return from these speculations to the facts.

The usual type of door has been mentioned. For further illustration of it, Photograph No. 5 shows the doors of two adjoining huts in the smaller group (huts 10 and 11), with a grinding stone, which was found in the inner court, set up between them. From this pattern of hut entrance, two variations were found: once, in hut 5 of the smaller group, there were two lintels, the inner one set behind and below the outer one, making an unusual thickness of hut-wall, as if, for some reason no longer to be guessed, an additional layer had been built on from within or from without. And, again, in some three or four scattered huts of the larger group, a type of door was found, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high and nearly 2 ft. wide, which could be entered by merely stooping. (See Photograph No. 6.)

#### 4.—THE SETTLEMENT: EXCEPTIONAL HUTS WITH LARGER DOORS.

It is very tempting to think that these larger doors are the work of later inhabitants, either Bantu or White. Locally, it appears, the existence of the huts has been known, without arousing any great interest or enquiry, since Voortrekker days. One of the old Voortrekker roads to the north passed out in the plain within full sight of Tafelkop. Further, quite apart from the evidences of more recent occupation of the hill-top by Bantu herds and herdsmen, a large number of huts in the larger group (see Fig. II) have been pulled down to make a cattle kraal in the midst of the Settlement for white farmers' cattle. And there are local stories of both roving Boer Commandoes and British Detachments having camped on the hill during the Anglo-Boer War, and used the huts as shelters against the weather. There is thus every possibility of reconstructive activity.

On the other hand, there are two difficulties to be set against this hypothesis. One is that the huts with enlarged entrances are so few and so far apart. The other is that, on account of the **canti-**

lever method of construction, it must have been very ticklish work to break open one side without bringing the roof down. A comparison of the irregular courses of rock above the lintels in Photographs Nos. 3, 4 and 5, with the tidy finish of the edges of the larger entrance on Photograph No. 6, shows that the reconstruction of courses must have required a great deal of skill and care. For, the rest of these huts with larger entrances look to be in the original condition, and they are as solid as the others; the roof easily bears the weight of a grown-up man.

Just what the correct explanation of these doors is we do not know.

#### 5.—THE SETTLEMENT: (c) THE LARGE HUT GROUP.

About the larger group of huts not much need be said. Fig. II shows its general lay-out, so far as this can still be traced. The survivals of many hut-doors in the wall of the modern cattle kraal will be noticed. Obviously, these doors had been facing inwards on to one or more inner enclosures. We draw attention to this point, because it is one of the few in respect of which the grouping of huts and kraals at Tafelkop differs from the grouping found by Mr. Lowe at Vechtkop. According to Mr. Lowe's diagram, on page 220 of his article, the typical ground-plan of a "stad" of kraals and stone-huts at Vechtkop is a large inner enclosure formed by a mixed circle of cattle kraals and huts with bits of connecting walls between them. The kraals at Vechtkop all open inwards into the enclosure; the huts, on the other hand, with few exceptions, open outwards, so that the inhabitants of the huts cannot enter either the inner enclosure or the cattle kraals, which are accessible only from the enclosure, except by going round the outer edge of the kraal-hut circle until they reach the single entrance which breaches the circle and admits to the inner enclosure.

We found no trace whatever of such an arrangement in the Tafelkop Settlement. There the huts, unless they are isolated, face uniformly on an inner court, formed of huts only, with the cattle kraals and enclosures arranged around the outside of the hut circle.

#### 6.—COMPARISON OF ANDERSON'S HUTS WITH THOSE ON VECHTKOP AND ON TAFELKOP.

Photograph No. 7 reproduces a plate from Anderson's *Twenty-five Years in a Wagon*, Vol. II, p. 55.\* Anderson gives two separ-

\*A. A. Anderson, *Twenty-five Years in a Wagon in the Gold Regions of Africa*. Two Volume Edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1887.

ate descriptions of such stone-huts, the first (Vol. I, pp. 37-8) refers to a settlement "two days' trek" beyond an unnamed "isolated hill" in the Free State; the other (Vol. II, p. 55) deals with huts in the Marico (Zeerust) district. Both descriptions agree with each other in all their details, as also with the illustration here reproduced, which was apparently made from a drawing. Though it is not stated in so many words that Anderson personally saw the Settlements he describes, his account is so worded as to imply that he is describing them, not from hearsay, but from personal inspection. Again, though the drawing bears no signature, and though the text does not claim that it is Anderson's own (none of the illustrations in his book, in fact, is signed), again the *prima facie* presumption is that Anderson himself made the sketch and wrote the text from his own notes and memoranda. In short, the internal consistency of the accounts with each other and with the illustration, taken together with the explicit assertion that, on the "isolated hill," he found, half-way down, two stones that looked like coping-stones, and had "evidently been cut into shape by a mason," to an exact size of 1 ft. x 6 in., lend a high degree of *prima facie* verisimilitude to Anderson's account.

Here is the *verbatim* text from Vol. II, p. 55:—"These extensive kraals must have been erected by a white race who understood building in stone and at right angles, with doorposts, lintels and sills, and it required more than Kaffir skill to erect the stone huts, with stone circular roofs, beautifully formed, and most substantially erected, strong enough, if not disturbed, to last 1,000 years, as the walls and roofs of the huts were 2 ft.-in thickness, built of partly hewen stone. The divisional walls and outer wall were 5 and 6 ft. in thickness, and at the present time 5 ft. in height at places, the upper stones having fallen. . . . But in no case have I discovered any trace of mortar or any implements. Plenty of broken crockery is found in the ground when it is turned up, but none on the surface. Kaffirs have never been known to build their huts with stone or make fences at right angles; everything with them is round. . . ."

To this description, Vol. 1, pp. 37-8, adds only these further details, viz.: (i) that in the Free State Settlement each hut is surrounded by a square enclosure of walls, pierced by doorways with lintels, and that "at one time this upper part of the Free State must have been thickly populated"; (ii) that there were two extensive remains of such "stone towns" in the Marico

district, but so hidden by bush "that they are not seen until you are close upon them"; (iii) that "the present natives know nothing of them; they are shrouded in mystery."

Now, Anderson's "upper part of the Free State" can hardly be identified with any other area than that in which the fourteen settlements of the Vechtkop type have been found. Yet the Vechtkop type settlements do not agree with Anderson's description in many essentials, and no remains of settlements like those described by Anderson have ever been found by recent inhabitants of, or inquirers in, the district, nor does any memory of them survive in local tradition.

In the Marico district, Mr. John G. Gubbins, who farms at Ottoshoop, near Zeerust, and whose famous library of *Africana* has grown out of researches into the history of the district, has made many efforts to trace the remains of Anderson's Settlements, but without any success.

What, then, are we to think? Have Anderson's Settlements disappeared without leaving a trace? That seems incredible, seeing that the far inferior Settlements of the Vechtkop and Tafelberg type have survived. Is Anderson not to be trusted? Does he, perhaps, describe the Vechtkop huts from hearsay? Or, having seen them, did memory and imagination, working together, play him tricks when, years later, he came to write his book? Did he concoct a drawing to fit his description?

These are serious accusations to entertain against a writer who, in general, reports his experiences and observations in a blunt, straightforward manner. Yet, against the complete trustworthiness of his illustrations (at least) it is possible to quote the illustration of "Ancient Carvings on Rocks," which opens his second volume. The ancient rock carvings which exist in many parts of S. Africa are now well-known, and have been often reproduced and studied, but none of those known look as if, in size, arrangement, technique and other details, they had served as the originals of Anderson's picture. The latter is manifestly a composite, at best drawn from memory eked out by imagination. May not a similar unintentional falsification have happened to Anderson in his description and drawing of stone-huts?

Without presuming to answer this question, we content ourselves with pointing out the chief discrepancies between Anderson's huts and those at Vechtkop and Tafelkop:—

1. Anderson's huts, according to both his accounts, were built of "partly hewn stone"; the Vechtkop and Tafelkop huts are built of unhewn stones throughout.
2. Anderson's huts, if his illustration is interpreted in the light of the measurements he gives for the walls, viz., 5-6 ft. high, must have been at least 12-15 ft. high, whereas the Vechtkop and Tafelkop huts are, on the average, not more than 5-6 ft. high (outside measurement).
3. Anderson's huts have doorways from 4-5 ft. high, with sills and doorposts, as well as lintels. The doors of the Vechtkop and Tafelkop huts are only about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, and have neither doorposts nor sills. The only exception are the few Tafelkop huts with higher doors, and even these do not exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in height at most, and have no sills.
4. Anderson's huts are constructed of stones in regular courses, almost like bricks; the Vechtkop and Tafelkop huts have their stones arranged in highly irregular courses.
5. Anderson's huts stand each in its own rectangular enclosure; no single Vechtkop or Tafelkop hut has its own private enclosure, and such walls as connect the huts or form the kraals are not rectangular, but curved, and do not either in width, or height, or regularity of construction come anywhere near the walls described and illustrated by Anderson.

The only point in which Anderson's huts agree with the Vechtkop and Tafelkop huts is that they are constructed without mortar.

The conclusion seem unavoidable: Either Anderson's huts are other than those of the Vechtkop type, and, if so, the remains of his "extensive settlements" have completely vanished; or the basis of fact behind Anderson's description is really the Vechtkop type of stone-hut settlement; but, if so, he was a singularly poor observer and untrustworthy reporter.

As regards, finally, a comparison of the Vechtkop huts with the Tafelkop huts, the main difference, viz., that in the grouping of the huts, has already been indicated (see Section 5). Apart from this, the only points worth mentioning are: (i) That the Tafelkop Settlement, with upwards of 100 huts or remains of huts, appears to be the largest and best preserved Settlement of its kind, and that its huts appear to show a somewhat higher degree of neatness

and tidiness in construction, at any rate in their best examples. (See Photographs 8 and 9.) But this may be due to the quality of the stones available for building on the two sites.

In general, Vechtkop and Tafelkop exhibit such a pronounced likeness that they may safely be ascribed to the same people as builders and the same type of civilisation.

Mr. C. van Riet Lowe puts forward the hypothesis that the builders of these Settlements were the Leghoya or Bataung, the earliest stream of Bantu invaders from the north and north-west, who, to a larger degree than later Bantu invaders, fraternised and intermarried with the Bushmen tribes whom they found in possession of the country. Whilst we cannot claim to have found any positive evidence to confirm this hypothesis, we certainly have found nothing which would throw doubt on it. It remains, for the time being, the only hypothesis in the field. The occupation of the country by these Leghoya is put by Mr. Lowe at the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, after which they were driven from their Settlements, or exterminated, by Mantateesi and Bathlokua, who themselves yielded to the Matabele, and, later, the Dutch Voortrekkers. The only point in respect of which Tafelkop compels a slight modification of Mr. Lowe's account is the extension of Leghoya Settlements much further north and east than his map shows.

#### HUMAN REMAINS.

In conclusion, we have to add that we found two human skeletons associated with the Tafelkop Settlement. The first, exhumed in the midden outside the small group of huts, was that of a very young infant, less than a year old, which had been buried at a depth of about 2 ft., apparently under a small, round pot of black earthenware and rather thick, crude manufacture. The other skeleton belonged to an adult, and was found in a midden at some distance to the south-west of the small group of huts. This adult had been buried at a depth of about 4 ft. in the usual sitting posture, with knees drawn up to the chin. A large, black pot had been placed, inverted, above his head. Both pots belonged in shape to the type "a" illustrated in Fig. 3 of Mr. Lowe's article (p. 222). They are now in the Ethnological Museum of the University of the Witwatersrand.

The skeleton remains have been handed to Professor R. A. Dart, of the Anatomy Department of the University, for detailed examination. A report on them is not yet available.



No. 8.

C van Riet Lowe's photograph of an isolated hut at Vechtkop, with two grindstones on right.



No. 9.

Isolated hut at Tafelkop—compare with  
Vechtkop hut.

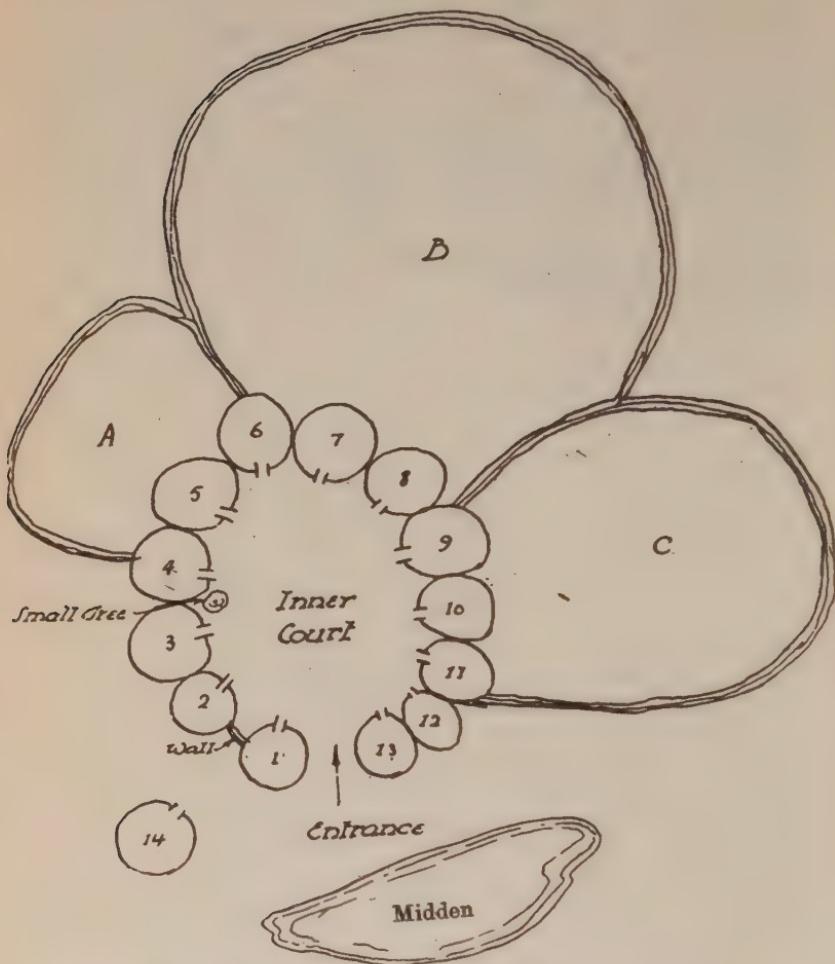


The three days which we were able to spend on the site, with effective working time limited to about 5-5½ hours per day, permitted only of the preliminary exploration of the site which forms the basis of this article. A further investigation ought to bring to light ample human remains, and, probably, more implements, weapons and other artefacts than we were able to find. It may be added that the examination, in two huts, of the mixed layer of ashes\* and soil which forms the floor of the huts, down to the original soil surface, was barren of results, except for a few fragments of thin, greyish-black pottery, apparently of late date.

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\*Which, in the absence of fire-places in the huts, must have been carried in from the fires outside.

FIGURE I.



Small group of huts. A, B, C, are cattle kraals; huts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 13, are more or less dilapidated; No. 5 has a double lintel. From entrance (between huts 1 and 13) to back (huts 6, 7) is a distance of 30 ft. Across the Inner Court (huts 3 to 10) is about 20 ft.

E. G. TUCKER delt., 1930.



No. 5.

Entrances to two huts in small group—grindstone between entrances.

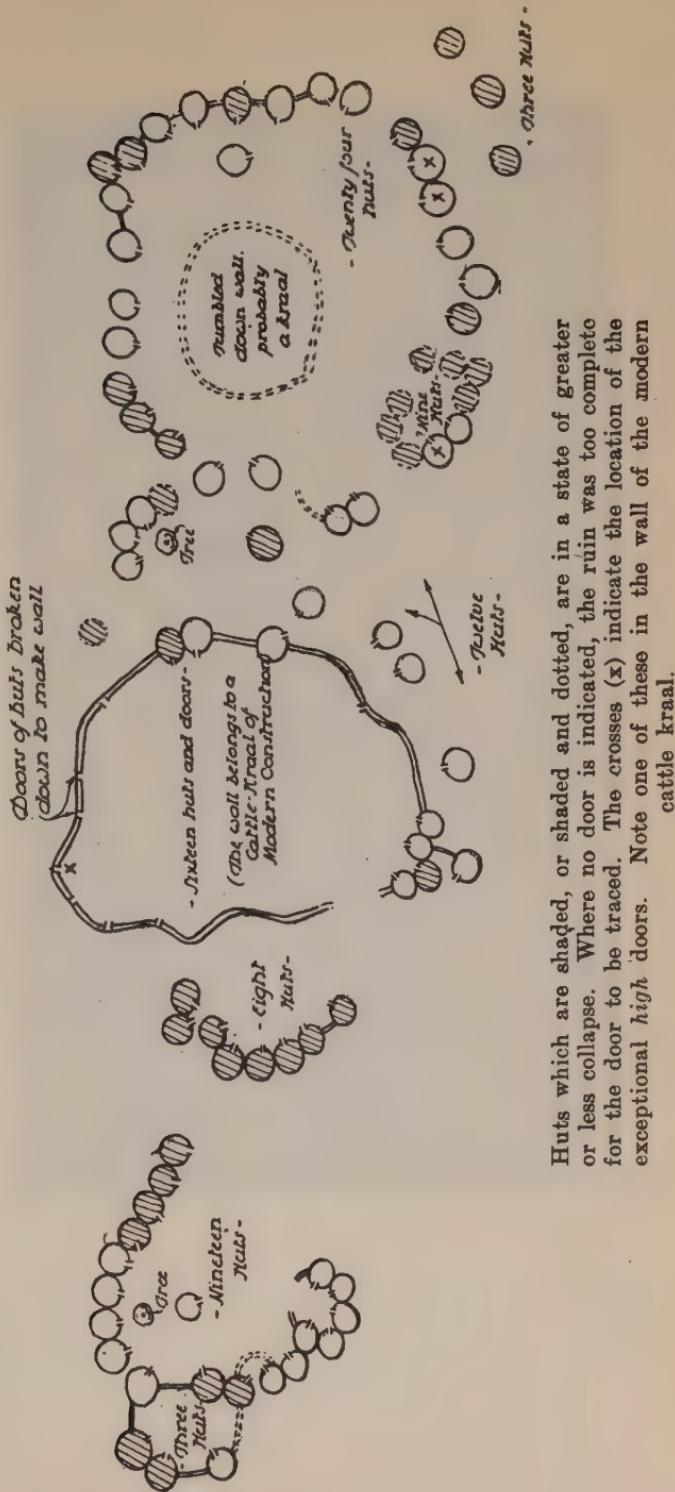


No. 6.

Exceptional hut, with large door-way.



FIGURE II.  
LARGE HUT SETTLEMENT AT TAFELKOP—MORE THAN 90 HUTS OR REMAINS  
OF HUTS.

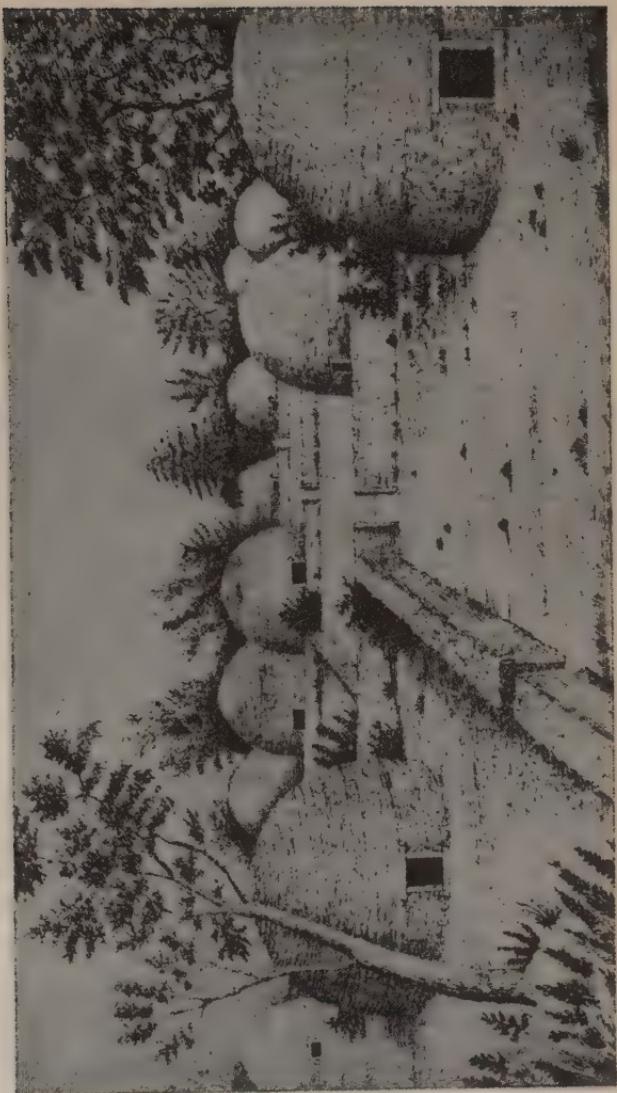


Huts which are shaded, or shaded and dotted, are in a state of greater or less collapse. Where no door is indicated, the ruin was too complete for the door to be traced. The crosses (x) indicate the location of the exceptional high doors. Note one of these in the wall of the modern cattle kraal.

E. G. TUCKER delt., 1930.



No. 7.  
Anderson's drawing of stone-hut settlement in the Marico district.





# THE MEDICINES AND PRACTICE OF A SOTHO DOCTOR.

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In October, 1929, we had the opportunity of examining, in the Medical School, Johannesburg, the complete outfit of a Sotho doctor, and of questioning him. He was of the Transvaal Matebele tribe living at Moletlane<sup>(1)</sup> and called himself *Monkwe Mojapelo*. Like most of these Matebele he spoke Sotho only, and so one of us (v. Warmelo) had to interpret. Though naturally not eager to impart his knowledge to Europeans, he did not, as repeated checking has shown, intentionally withhold information or attempt to mislead. Nevertheless, we must emphasize that what we obtained gives an incomplete picture, since the time at our disposal was limited. Moreover there is a vagueness about many native conceptions that cannot be dispelled by any amount of talking. Finally, there is the possibility of our having omitted to ask things that were obvious to him, and for which he would naturally never think of volunteering an explanation.

The man was about 40 years of age, and though very little acquainted with Europeans and their civilisation, fairly well informed and not lacking in shrewdness and intelligence. In some respects his professional knowledge seemed to us strangely deficient, but on the other hand the ease with which he recognised the herbs he knew, often only from their dried roots, was surprising. Divination it appeared was not a speciality with him, and we take him to represent the ordinary run of native doctors, and not to be one of special eminence or out-of-the-ordinary in any way.

## I.—TRAINING AND EXERCISE OF PROFESSION.

Monkwe's father was a doctor and diviner (*ngaka*), and employed his sons to gather the roots and herbs he needed in his practice. In this way Monkwe became familiar with the plants his father used and also with their names. Their use he remained ignorant of.

A *ngaka* does not teach his sons his medical knowledge unless they wish to enter the profession. Monkwe's eldest brother wished to do so, and was accordingly taught by his father. Monkwe sub-

<sup>(1)</sup> Zebedela's Location, East of Potgietersrust.

sequently also acquired his father's knowledge of herbs and medical treatment, and was introduced to the art of bone-throwing by his eldest brother, who had inherited his father's set. Monkwe then had to go to another old man to learn more about divination, and to obtain help in making up a set of his own. For this a substantial fee was paid.

Monkwe did not start practice until he was able to use his own divining-set. However, he avers there are doctors who possess no bones, but since divination (*go laola*) is essential in medical practice as a means of diagnosis, he declared that they divine "in their heads." How this is done he cannot say. He cannot do it himself, and would be unable to use his medicines if deprived of his divining-bones.

A *ngaka* usually gets his training and knowledge from one man, but subsequently travels about to obtain additional information from colleagues, and usually pays a good deal for it. Should he forget any details, he may go again to refresh his memory, without further payment. Only if he comes back too often will the other man demand an additional fee.

A *ngaka* is paid one head of cattle for professional services, if the case is not too trifling, as for instance that of a child, where a goat would be sufficient payment. He is only paid after a cure. He is often given less than his due, but seldom goes to the chief about it, because the costs of an appeal to him make litigation over small matters unprofitable. Should a patient, who has not paid in full for a previous cure, call the doctor in again, the latter will not treat him until the debt is liquidated. If the *ngaka* effects no cure with his own medicines, he may either go privately to a colleague and obtain a remedy from him, or else give up the case. In the first instance, he must pay for the medicine himself and cannot pass the charge on to the patient; in the second, he has admitted his inability to effect a cure and gets no fee. Monkwe complained that his profession was not remunerative, since too many people paid nothing, whereas some of the medicines he used cost him a considerable amount.

## II.—DIVINING-BONES.

Monkwe's set of divining-bones seem to be of the ordinary type found among the Sotho. They are kept in a small bag. In throwing, they are either emptied out of the bag or taken in both hands, elbows down, and thrown forward.

Monkwe says his bones know practically everything, but he himself is not always able to understand what they say. They may refer to an incident he has forgotten or never heard of. That is why he uses the plant *theri* (2) to assist his memory in the interpretation. The bones do not always "speak," that is, give a readable combination. They are thrown repeatedly until the *ngaka* sees that they refer to the matter in hand. If he himself should get no result, he may ask the person consulting him to throw the bones. There can be but one interpretation of a particular throw. Another *ngaka*, if told what the several bones represent, would give the same interpretation as the owner of the set.

Divination is resorted to in case of illness. Monkwe says that when he is called in to treat a patient, he first throws the bones to find out where the seat of the illness is, and perhaps what is causing it, in a magical sense of course. Then he asks the patient what is the matter. He states that if the man has a headache, then the bones must show that he has a headache (*di swanetše go šupa gore go byalo*). But if the bones were to show that the disease is in the stomach, then he would conclude that the headache was simply a result of the gastric trouble and administer medicine accordingly.

It is difficult to see how diagnosis by means of the bones works in practice, because Monkwe knows exactly for what trouble each medicine is to be used. It is hard to believe that he would really administer a medicine for the stomach, when the patient has nothing but headache, solely on the evidence of the bones and without looking to see what actually is the matter with the patient.

The bones are also consulted, for instance, when cattle have strayed, or things have been lost. They may indicate the direction in which the things have disappeared, or the tribe or clan-totem of the thief. A definite person they do not indicate, though some details as to age and sex may be given. Monkwe denied being able to deal with cases of pure witchcraft, but since such a large part of native medicine, and indeed, of native life as a whole, is bound up with conceptions of magic and sorcery, it is hard to say what is actually meant by this.

The set consisted of the bones, etc., enumerated below. Details about interpretation could only have been discovered by going through a number of throws. This was impossible under the

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(2) See Sec. III, B, 4.

circumstances, and the consideration of abstract problems seemed to be beyond our informant's capacity. Most of the bones refer to the various animals found as totems of tribes or sibs among the Sotho, and they accordingly indicate individuals who recognise these animals as their *methupo* (sing. *mothupo*).

All divining-bones (*taola* 9, pl. *ditaola*) occur in pairs (except No. 5, see below) in order that both sexes may be represented. In some cases the bones of another than the right animal are used, when those of the latter are not to be found. The pig, for instance, stands for the elephant.

In the first place the set contains the flat oblong strips of bone which are possibly the oldest and simplest means of divination among these tribes. They were formerly made of ivory, which is scarce nowadays, and so the tibia of the bull or cow are now generally used. One side is plain, the other marked with dots or rings. The sides usually taper towards one end. The "females" (see below) have a notch at the broader end.

Monkwe's set contained four pairs of these:—

1. The "men" (*banna*). The larger one represents, as usual, the older or more important man, the other a young man or a boy. In this case, the latter is a domino of European make, which replaces a bone, similar to the other, which has been lost.

2. The "women" (*basadi*). The one representing the older or more important woman has a cross-line near the notch to distinguish it from the other, which stands for the young woman or girl.

3. A second pair of "men" (*banna*), both from the hoof-nail of cattle. One side is chipped. The bigger one is the old man. Both are black, whereas the other pair of "men" (No. 1) are white.

4. A second pair of "women" (*basadi*), both of which should be of black horn. That representing the young woman is right, whereas the other, the old woman, is a temporary white one made of dog's bone. This replaces one which should be larger than its mate.

Monkwe stated, however, that the colour of these latter two pairs of bones was of no importance whatsoever. It is possible to use either Nos. 1 and 2, or Nos. 3 and 4. His custom is to use all four pairs.



PLATE I.  
Portrait of Monkwe Mojapelo.



PLATE II.

Complete set of divining-bones, described in Section I.  
A.—1, 3, "Men"; 2, 4, "Women." B.—Talus-bones; 5, ant-  
enter; 6, reebok; 7, goat; 8, sheep; 9, duiker; 11, baboon; 13, pig;  
14, cattle; 15, steenbok; 16, young duiker; 17, monkey. C.—12,  
shells. D.—18, first phalanx of ratel.



5. Talus (*astragalus*) of *thakadu* (*erdvark*, ant-eater), one pair, right and left. In throwing, one only may be used, because it represents *Modimo*, "The Supreme Being," in what way is hard to say. It does not represent any *badimo*, "ancestral spirits," for they have no place in his set.<sup>(3)</sup>

The rest of the bones all represent *methupo*, the totem-animals of tribes or clans. In each case there is a male and a female, the latter usually being the smaller one. In the case of the talus of the sheep, goat, duiker, etc., the male is the one which has a point projecting outwards on the right-hand nether corner of the side shown in the illustration, Plate I. The female has no such projection. The males are shown on the right, the females on the left in every instance. It will be noticed that in several cases more than one pair occurs. All are used, though this is not absolutely necessary.

With these bones, as with the "men" and "women" mentioned above, the side on which they fall is of great importance. If the bone lies upside down (in the case of the "men" and "women," the marked side down), it means that the person in question is ill or unable to move, or is even dead. If the other side is on top, it means that he is "still walking" (*o sa sepela*), i.e., in good health. Monkwe said, however, that he would never say whether a patient was going to recover or not, this being beyond human knowledge.

There are the following bones representing *methupo*:—

6. Talus of *letlabu* "reebok," one pair. The reebok has more or less the same tawny colour as the lion. It is for this reason that its bones have been selected to take the place of those of the lion, which are not obtainable. The lion is the *mothupo* of the *BaPedi*.

7.a.b.c. Talus of *pudi* "goat," three pairs. These represent those people who have the goat as *mothupo*. These Monkwe calls the *Makgalaka*, but explained that he meant the *Venda* (*Batswetla*). Probably it stands for any one of the Northern tribes.

8.a.b.c. Talus of *nku* "sheep," three pairs, representing the *Bagalesu*.

9.a.b.c.d. Talus of *phuthi* "duiker," four pairs, the *mothupo* of the *BaKone*.

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<sup>(3)</sup> The ant-eater is said to know the spirit-world, because it digs in the earth in which the dead are buried.

10.a.b. Two pairs of pieces of shell of *khudu* "tortoise," from the under part of the tail end. The female is distinguished from the male in both pairs by the former having more pronounced and more open suture lines. The tortoise stands for the snake. Since the snake is not a totem, it must stand for something else, but through an oversight this was not explained.

11. Talus of *tshwene* "baboon," one pair, of which the bigger one is the female. This is the *mothupo* of the *BaKgatla*.

12.a.b. Two pairs of shells found in rivers, the larger one being the male in both pairs. The kind of shell which is used is immaterial, the main point being that they come out of the water, because they represent that which is in the water, viz., the crocodile. This is the totem of the *BaKwena*. Shells are taken because bones of the crocodile are unobtainable. Under circumstances these shells might also represent the fish (*tlhapi*), the totem of the *BaTlhaping*.

13. Talus of *kolobe* "pig" (wild or domestic), one pair. The larger one is the male and happens to be from a wild pig, while the female is from a domestic pig. The source (wild or domestic) is immaterial, since the animal represented is not the pig but the elephant (*tlou*), the totem of the *Matebele* living at *Moletlane* (Zebedela's location), East of Potgietersrust.

14. Two portions of talus of cattle. The male, which is the larger piece, is from a bull, while the female is from a cow. These represent the totem *kgomo* (cattle), but Monkwe did not know the name of this tribe. It may be a clan of the Transvaal *Matebele*.

15. One "female" talus of *phudufudu* "steenbok." The "male" bone has been lost. It represents the chief.

16. One "female" talus of a young duiker. The "male" bone has been lost, so that this one cannot be used.

17. One "male" talus of *kgabo* "monkey," the totem of the *BaKgatla*, the same as the baboon. The "female" bone is missing.

18. One first phalanx of *kgògò* "ratel." Monkwe stated that he did not yet know how this bone was employed in divination.

One bone alone cannot be used, as we have said before. There must be a pair, always excepting No. 5. All the pairs were complete, according to the owner, before the outfit was taken out of his hands a month previously.

## III.—MEDICINES AND IMPLEMENTS.

Monkwe uses a great variety of plants and other materials, such as insects and parts of animals. We have arranged these under various headings according to the type of use. In some cases he has forgotten the name of the plant, which he says is of no moment as he always remembers the plant and its use. It is not surprising that he forgets some of the names, for he has to carry a large number of facts in his head, and it is several months since he handled or used his outfit.

Pieces of root, stem, etc., are carried loose in his bags, but prepared medicines, which are usually in the form either of a powder or of an ointment, are carried in various receptacles. Other materials, e.g., insects, which would suffer as a result of being carried loose, are wrapped in paper or cloth, or stored in a container. The commonest vessel is the skin of animals, usually the complete skin of the meerkat or of the klipdassie, but spare calabash gourds (used for cupping), small glass bottles, match boxes, pieces of paper and pieces of cloth are also used.

## A. MEDICINES USED FOR THE TREATMENT OF PATIENTS.

1. A bulbous plant, *Sesepe* (in the south dialect of Sotho (Suto) *Sesepa-sa-linoha* is *Piscesperma capense*). Water in which the bulb has been broken up is used to wash a patient as an essential preliminary to commencing treatment.

2. *Moretlwa*, possibly a species of *Rhamnus* (in South Suto, *Lycium acutifolium*). The pounded bark is eaten dry as a condiment, but is also taken with the idea of keeping a person in good health.

3. *Molaka*, a large tree, the bark of which is bitter and is used for one of the diseases caused by *madi* "blood"; this disease is characterised by a feeling of tiredness.

4. (1) The stem of *Motšhetšhe*, *Cussonia paniculata*, E. & Z., (2) the root of *Marula*, a small shrub, (3) the plant *Tšimantši*, which resembles *Pollichia campestris*, Soland., (4) the root of a creeper (name forgotten by Monkwe), (5) the root of *Motilane*, a shrub, (6) the leaves of *Bori*, *Croton gratissimus*, Burch., (7) the leaves and bark of *Lešwalo*, a small shrub, and (8) raw asbestos, called simply *lefsika* "stone," are used separately or together in the treatment of rheumatism by throwing the material on live

coals on a pot-sherd and smoking the patient under a blanket. A mixture of several is most commonly used.

5. Steam baths are also used in treating rheumatism, by placing heated stones in a pot of water under a blanket. The root of a small plant, *Magomaneng*, and the bark of a tree, *Modumela*, are often added to the water. Their addition is thought to stimulate perspiration. The *Magomaneng* root mentioned above is also pounded and smeared over the patient before applying remedy No. 24.

6. The plant *Mogeletswa*, and the root of a small shrub, *Makgomolla*, are infused together and the warm infusion used to soak cloths which are applied to the thigh and knee for the relief of what is apparently sciatica.

7. *Morola*, *Solanum incanum*, L. and *Monokwane*, *Fagara capensis*, Thunb., are taken by the mouth in the form of a decoction for chest troubles in general.

8. *Phatše-ya-tšhwene*, *Myrothamnus flabellifolia*, Welw., is smoked to relieve slight pains in the chest.

9. The fruit and root of a shrub, *Pherefera*, are pounded together and rubbed into light scarifications over the area of pleuritic pain. A pinch of the powder is taken internally. The pain is due to *madi* "blood," and Monkwe's idea is that the pain is caused by stoppage of the circulation in the part. The fruit is a red berry and is used because both it and the blood are red.

10. Parts of *Morola*, *Solanum incanum*, L., are roasted and powdered and taken with the bulb of a poisonous tulip, called *Sekanama*, for pleurisy and probably for pneumonia with pleurisy.

11. A decoction of the root of *Lehlwele* (in South Suto, *Geranium canescens*) is given to children for cough, especially when the cough is persistent and the secretion tenacious. The fruit is sometimes used in conjunction with the root.

12. The root of two species of a small plant known as *Phela* is given to children as a decoction for the relief of cough.

Monkwe does not seem to have any cough remedies for adults, but it appears likely that Nos. 11 and 12 are used in adults as well as children.

13. A decoction of *Lengana*, *Artemisia afra*, Jacq., is also used as a cough remedy in children.

14. The crushed leaves of *Mošunkwane*, *Lantana salviaefolia*, Jacq., are sniffed or a cold infusion of the leaf is used as a nasal douche to relieve cold in the head (*mpshikelo*).

15. The powdered root of *Moleko* (in South Suto, *Hermannia depressa*, N.E.Br.) is bitter and is rubbed into scarifications all over the body to relieve pain in a feverish condition accompanied by generalised body pains. This treatment aims at the relief of pain only and is not thought to affect the course of the fever.

16. Another condition characterised by generalised body pains is treated with powdered *Pòò-ya-bokone*, a ferruginous clay, (see sec. III, B,2) by making an ointment and pricking the patient all over the body with the points of duiker horns which have been dipped in it. This outfit is illustrated in Plate IV, Fig. 7.

17. The root of *Magope*, a species of *Clematis*, probably *Clematis brachiata*, Thunb., is strongly odorous and is sniffed to relieve headache.

18. The smoke from burning a shrub, *Moriri-o-mošweu* (white hair), is inhaled to relieve headache.

19. The pounded fruit of *Monyaku* (in South Suto, *Melothria velutina*, *Solanum supinum*, Dun., *Solanum capense*, L., *Coccinia hirtella*, *Cucumis hirsutus*, Sond., *Cucumis myriocarpus*, Naud. or *Cucumis dissectifolius*, Naud.) is used as a mild purgative, especially as a preliminary to No. 20.

20. The seeds of *Motlhapametsi*, a large tree, are also used as a purgative, one seed being an average dose, though more are given if necessary. It acts in about three hours, usually without pain. Should there be pain, *Tšhosí* (No. 21) is given immediately after the bowels have acted. The root bark is sometimes used in conjunction with the seed. Both bark and seed are regarded as poisonous and will kill the patient if taken in overdose. Monkwe does not regard them as being poisonous in the ordinary sense, but thinks that their continued use or abuse injures the organs, and then it is but natural that death should supervene.

21. The powdered root of *Tšhosí*, a small plant, is taken in small doses with water to relieve internal abdominal pains. It is used particularly after No. 20, and may also be used prophylactically with the latter. *Tšhosí* is very bitter and has no purgative action.

22. A decoction of the inside of the bulb of *Maphumadifala*, *Eucomis undulata*, Ait., is taken to relieve pains in the abdomen.

23. Another remedy for the relief of abdominal pain is the powdered bark of a large thornless tree with small, black edible berries.

24. The leaves of *Mokgalo*, possibly a species of *Acacia*, and of *Mosetlha* are pounded and mixed with the root of a small plant (name forgotten by Monkwe). A few pinches of the powder are taken repeatedly at short intervals to relieve pain in the abdomen. The preparation has no purgative action.

25. When coitus with a menstruating woman results in pain in the abdomen (the woman is said to *khutla* the man), the condition requires special treatment. *Lebitsi*, *Mylabris oculata*, Thunb., and the root of *Kgagarotsane*, *Rubia petiolaris*, DC., are roasted and powdered together and given orally in very small doses. This treatment removes the pain only if the man has been *khutlaed*, but is ineffective if the pain arises from some other cause.

26. The leaves of a tree, *Tshuka*, are charred and powdered with *Lebitsi*, and often given as a preliminary to treatment No. 25. It is thought to "loosen up the blood."

27. The root of *Magomaneng*, a large shrub (not the same as No. 5) is pounded and smeared over the patient after treatment No. 25.

28. The root of *Setshutshube*, a small shrub, is powdered and eaten with porridge as an anti-diarrhoeic. It is bitter and mild in action.

29. The root of *Makgomolla* (see No. 6) is ground up and taken with sour milk to relieve heartburn arising from drinking too much beer. It has a disagreeable odour and produces emesis.

30. A decoction of the root of *Lešitšane*, *Albizzia lophantha*, Benth., is given to women four to five days after parturition to ease pain and abdominal discomfort.

31. The charred and powdered bark of *Bori*, *Croton gratissimus*, Burch., is used for bleeding gums. The gums and teeth are brushed with the powder.

32. The root of *Motshetlha*, a tree, is decorticated and smoke from burning chips of the inner part is applied to the eye in failing eyesight. This is not a senile condition, but is a disease accompanied by pain and lachrymation, affecting children as well as adults.

33. A shrub, *Mologa*, is used in the same way as No. 32.

Besides the cough remedies already mentioned, Monkwe has several medicines for children.

34. The powdered root of *Mogoma*, a grass, is made into an ointment with white soil or a piece of white stone, powdered, and sheep's fat. This is rubbed over young children suffering from nervousness (? chorea).

35. The root of *Magomaneng*, a small shrub (apparently differing from both No. 5 and No. 27), is powdered and given to young infants. It is not used as a specific treatment but is given for any disease or symptom, though perhaps more particularly for vomiting. This root is often given to both mother and child to guard them from trouble, especially to the mother to hasten her return to normal.

36. The seeds of *Mokhura*, *Ricinus communis*, L., are roasted and ground up and smeared on sores, boils, etc., in children. Monkwe knows that the oil from the seed is purgative but does not use it.

37. A decoction of the root of *Lepeta*, *Cissampelos mucronata*, A.Rich., is used to wash children with small pimples over the body.

38. The root of *Crabbea hirsuta*, Harv. (name forgotten by Monkwe) is burnt and powdered and rubbed all over the body, excluding the head, of hydrocephalic children.

39. The root of *Monokwane*, *Fagara capensis*, Thunb. (see No. 7), is bitter and a decoction of it is used internally and as a mouth wash for aphthae in children. The decoction is also used as a lotion for acne, and the powdered root smeared over the lesions.

40. The powdered root of *Morolane* or *Serolane*, *Solanum panduriforme*, E.Mey., is another remedy for aphthae in children.

41. For snake-bite, the venom sacs of *Marabe* "puff adder" and *Mokopa* "mamba" are dried and powdered. A small amount is rubbed into scarifications over the bites, and a small amount given by the mouth mixed with a grass which has a disagreeable odour. The important part of the treatment is the oral administration, which produces emesis. This is thought to be caused by the grass.

42. A small piece of bone from the paw of a baboon is powdered and rubbed into scarifications over scorpion stings. This remedy

is interesting as the use is due to the supposition that because baboons eat scorpions they are immune to the toxin. Actually, the baboon extracts the poison sac before eating the scorpion.

#### B. MEDICINES USED FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN TREATMENT OF THE SICK.

1. Monkwe uses the dried excrement of *lenong*, the vulture, with water to anoint himself before going on a long journey. It is thought to fortify him, has the effect of ensuring success in his objective, and ensures equability in handling the business before him. This practice was passed on to Monkwe by his father. He does not know why it should be effective. The excrement of any other bird is useless for the purpose.

2. *Pòò-ya-bokone*, the ferruginous clay mentioned in section III, A, 16, is rubbed by Monkwe over his body and into scarifications to render him immune to witchcraft. This material is of great value and is highly prized by Monkwe. It is obtained only from among the BaKone in Pediland, and approximately two ounces cost a head of cattle.

3. *Mafura-a-tau*, lion's fat, is often mixed with No. 2. It cost about 15s. per half-ounce.

4. The root of *Theri*, a small plant, is powdered and taken by the doctor to keep his memory good. It is always taken before using the divining-bones, and before treating a patient, and is taken at intervals otherwise.

5. The same *Magomaneng* mentioned in section III, A, 5, is mixed with any sort of earth and water and smeared on the doctor's body before he goes to a patient. This is to prevent the latter becoming nervous at the doctor's "shadow" (? spirit).

6. *Byèrè*, a shrub, is used in the same way as No. 5.

7. The root of *Maime*, *Cyathula globulifera*, Moq., and the root of *Monnamoso*, a small plant, are pounded with water which is sprinkled about the patient's hut to prevent disturbance of the treatment by sorcery, evil spirits and wild animals. This procedure is always carried out before commencing the treatment.

8. The powdered root of *Tlhare-sa-pelo* (the medicine for the heart), *Alysicarpus zeyheri*, Harv., is taken by persons who are troubled by thoughts of things which they do not wish to think about, e.g. people who are dead. Thoughts arise from the heart, hence the native name. The patient is sometimes thereafter rubbed with *Byèrè* (No. 6).

9. The odorous root of a very small plant (name forgotten by Monkwe) is powdered and used for scenting the person.

10. A small piece of the skin of *thakadu* "erdvark, ant-eater," is worn by the patient after he is cured, or even before recovery is complete. It is tied round the neck or wrist by a thin strip of leather, and is worn until it drops off.

11. A piece of the skin of *polometsi* "iguana, likkewaan," worn on the necklace of a child gives it protection after illness. Monkwe laid great store by this.

12. A medicine for safeguarding a new kraal from evil influences: the root of a tree, *Motholo*, of *Mohuelere*, of *Mosètla* (see sec. III, A, 24), of *Mongèna*, prob. *Myrsine melanophleos*, R.Br., the bones of *lenong* "vulture" (see No. 1), of any wild animal that is obtainable, especially those of the lion, the baboon, of *kgògò* "ratel or Cape badger," of *tlhong* "hedgehog or yster-vark," and of snakes, especially *mokòpa* "mamba," are charred and powdered. To this is added a glittering stone (micaceous hematite) because it is peculiar and glitters. The whole is mixed with sheep's fat and stored in an ox horn. The skin of the mamba may be used but the bones are preferred.

The site of the new kraal is encircled with pegs. Water is poured on the surface of the material in the horn and mixed with some of the contents. This is sprinkled on the pegs with a brush made of a piece of ostrich feather.

The bones of animals are used with the idea that the animals represented in the mixture, which are always wild animals, never domestic, will not come within the ring of treated pegs. The mixture is thought also to keep away evil spirits.

13. Raw asbestos, simply called *lefsika* "stone," is powdered and mixed with earth and added to seed before sowing. It is thought to protect the crop from small burrowing animals.

14. The root of *Motlhono*, a fairly large thorn tree, is powdered and mixed with sheep's fat, and a small amount placed on the closed end of the cup mentioned under section III, C, 2. This is thought to aid the cup in its work of extracting blood, etc. The use is purely magic. Monkwe has an idea that the cup would be ineffective without this application.

15. The seed heads of a small plant, *Kadi-ya-mmula* (said to mean "hare's tail") are often used in conjunction with No. 14.

### C. SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS.

1. *Legare*, razor or scarifier, is the trembler from an electrical cell of the old pattern Ford motor car. It has a very sharp edge ground on it, and is used for opening abscesses, boils and other swellings, and for scarifying the skin for the insertion of remedies.

2. *Sekgopo*, a small calabash gourd with an opening at one end (see Pl. IV, Fig. 9). The opening is perfectly flat and carefully smoothed off. Monkwe carries spares which are sometimes used as medicine containers. This cup is used for wet-cupping only. Monkwe knows of dry-cupping but does not use the method.

To use the cup, it is rinsed out with water and the inside heated by either hot ashes or lighted matches. The cup is sometimes reapplied if the amount of blood drawn off at the first application is considered insufficient. It is used also to draw pus from boils after incising them.

### D. IMPLEMENTS OTHER THAN SURGICAL, AND ORNAMENTS.

1. *Naka*, a whistle used at the end of the ceremony of doctoring the pegs round a new kraal site (see section III, B, 12). It (Pl. IV, Fig. 8) is made from a goat's tibia, and is bound with the skin of *polometsi* "iguana." In addition to being a whistle, it is used as the receptacle for the ostrich-feather brush mentioned in section III, B, 12. Monkwe carries a spare *naka*.

2. A nail from *kgògò* "Cape Badger."
3. Two metacarpal bones from the same animal.
4. Two nails from *kgaka* "guinea-fowl."
5. One metacarpal bone from *thakadu* "erdvark."

NOTE.—1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are worn on a leather necklet with vulture excrement carried in the skin of *kgano* "meerkat," and two lots of *Pòò-ya-bokone* carried in similar skins. Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 are a sign of being a doctor, and are not worn by ordinary people. This necklet is always worn by Monkwe.

6. What appears to be a portion of a brass water tap is used for pounding medicines, but Monkwe mentioned incidentally that it had been used on occasion as the handle of a walking-stick.

7. The nails of a bird (unidentified) are used as charms against evil in general.

E. PLANTS KNOWN BY MONKWE TO BE USED MEDICINALLY,  
BUT NOT USED BY HIM.

1. *Sekgalwane*, *Zizyphus helvola*, Sond.
2. *Mokgalo*, *Zizyphus mucronata*, Willd. (this *Mokgalo* is not the same as the one mentioned under section III, A, 24).
3. *Mogalagala*, *Protea hirta*, Klotsch.
4. *Lekgaga*, *Typha capensis*, Rohrb.
5. *Motlhatlha*, *Cyperus sexangularis*, Ness.
6. *Sekgòpha*, *Aloe macrantha*, Bkr.
7. *Mogògaleleme*, *Gladiolus psittacinus*, Hook.
8. *Morelèšikana*, *Asclepias decipiens*, N.E.Br.
9. *Cymbopogon excavatus*, Stapf., simply called *byang* "grass."

IV. IDEAS OF ANATOMY, PHYSIOLOGY AND DISEASE.

Monkwe's knowledge of anatomy and physiology is very scanty. He recognises the main external subdivisions of the body, such as arm, abdomen, head, etc., but his ideas of the internal structure of the body are extremely vague. He argues by analogy that the important organs seen by him inside a goat or an ox probably occur in man, but he is not prepared to swear that all these organs do actually exist inside a man. He has never seen inside a human body.

He assumes that man has a brain because he has found brains inside the skulls of animals. The function of the brain is unknown to him. Thought and memory are functions of the heart. Voice comes from the inside of the body, and Monkwe knows nothing about the larynx and its functions. He recognises that we have lungs and that, on inspiration, air enters them. He has not the slightest conception of the function and mechanism of the heart. Though he knows that there is a heart beat, he did not know that this is produced by the heart. He grasped the point on being shown the exposed heart of a frog.

The stomach and intestines are clearly distinguished in his mind, and he knows that they are connected with digestion, or at least with the handling of food. He assumes that man has a liver and that it is in the abdominal cavity, but he has no idea of its functions, though he knows of the existence of bile. On analogy from cattle, he thinks that man has a bladder, but has no conception of the formation of the urine.

Diagnosis is always made by means of the bones, but as previously noted, he has a clear idea of the conditions for which he uses his various remedies. He stated very definitely that the bones are essential for diagnosis, and that he always diagnoses from the bones *before* ascertaining the symptoms and examining the patient. Probably that is done not so much with a view to finding out what is the matter with the patient, as to ascertaining what influences come into play in the case in hand. The idea of magic being so prominent in the native mind, it seems but natural that the *ngaka* should wish to make sure that he is not meddling with a business that may prove dangerous to himself. Apart from this, we are inclined to think that the throwing of the bones is humbug for the benefit of the patient.<sup>(4)</sup> It seems unlikely that Monkwe, who is a shrewd and intelligent man, should prescribe medicines on any other grounds than his findings on examination of the patient.

Having diagnosed the case, Monkwe proceeds quite empirically, from his knowledge of the effects of his remedies, to prescribe what he considers the most suitable medicine or combination of medicines. If the patient should not improve, then he is given other remedies which are used for the same type of condition. Should Monkwe exhaust his available remedies without success, he may consult a fellow practitioner and ask him for another remedy. A fee, often one head of cattle, is always paid for this addition to his knowledge. This charge is not passed on to the patient.

Apart from the diseases and symptoms mentioned in connection with the remedies given in section III, there are others which should be mentioned.

Monkwe recognises two kinds of headache, one accompanying aphthae, the other due to *madi* "blood." He does not know any cause for earache, and does not treat it. He treats toothache, but has no specimen of the remedy and has forgotten its name. Goitre is unknown to Monkwe. He knows of hoarseness occurring as a symptom of syphilis, but has no remedy for this disease. He states that long ago syphilis was unknown among the *BaPedi*. It came with the whites, and being a disease of white people that is why they know how to treat it.

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(4) Revd. P. Schwellnus informs us that there are native doctors in the Transvaal who throw the bones if the patient wishes it, but who will give medicines without any humbug if the patient does not believe in bone-throwing.

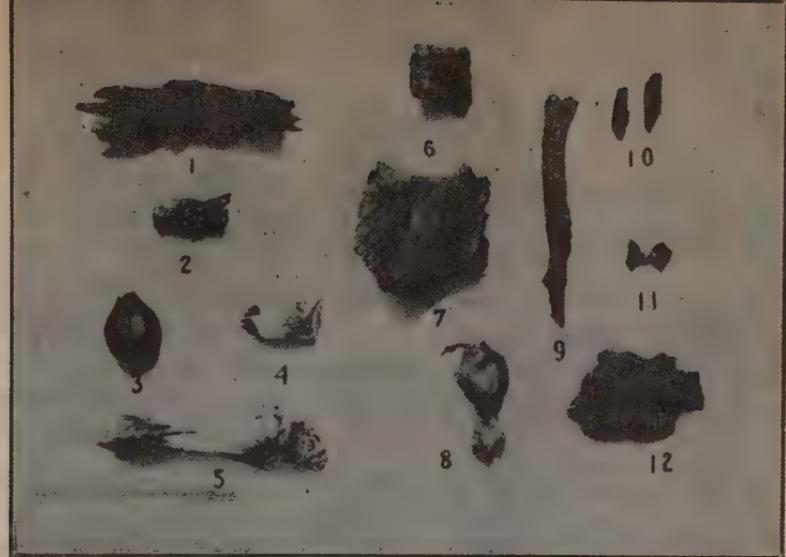


PLATE III.

Specimens of unprepared medicines.

1, paw of baboon; 2, underground stem; 3, fruit of a tree;  
4, asbestos; 5, a bulb; 6, mamba skin; 7, bark of a tree; 8, plant  
tubers; 9, plant stem; 10, insects; 11, fruit of a tree; 12, bark of  
a tree.



PLATE IV.

Instruments and medicine containers.

1, meerkat skin containing ferruginous clay; 2, an essence bottle containing charred and powdered bones; 3, goat's horn containing medicine for application to the cup (Fig. 9); 4, neck skin of fowl containing a powder; 5, a large meerkat skin containing a powder; 6, surgical knife; 7, the outfit mentioned in Section III, A, 16—*d*, skin sack for *a* and *c*, duiker horns containing the medicine, and *b*, sharp horn for application; 8, *Naka* "whistle"; 9, cupping calabash.



His idea of diseases of the chest are vague. He treats cough and recognises and treats pleurisy, but has no idea of pneumonia. In this connection, it is interesting to note that he knows of cases with pain in the chest accompanied by coughing of blood.

Constipation and diarrhoea are treated, but Monkwe knows of no cause or reason for them. He states, simply, that "the bowels are out of order." He cannot understand why colic should occur, but has remedies for it.

With regard to the skin, he has a very confused idea of its manifestations, and does not particularise skin rashes, etc., in any way. On the other hand, he seems to have a fairly clear knowledge of syphilitic rashes. Acne seems to occur commonly among natives and is treated with a lotion of the root of *Fagara capensis*, Thunb. Monkwe sometimes pricks the comedones and expresses them. Boils are often fomented with a cloth wrung out of hot water and incised, with his surgical knife, when ripe.

Monkwe states that fractures of the bones are now rarely treated by the native doctor, but are taken to Europeans. Formerly, the skin over the seat of the fracture was scarified and medicine rubbed in, and the part splinted with strips of wood. He has no knowledge of dislocations, and states that he has never to his knowledge seen one.

Finally, we may state that Monkwe has no idea of the training of a European doctor, and could not indicate wherein it differed from his own. He regards the use of the stethoscope as a species of divination.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

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*Comparative Vocabularies of Bushmen Languages*, By D. F. BLEEK. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929—being the second publication of the School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town.) pp. 94.

The Cape Town School of African Life and Languages is to be sincerely congratulated on this most welcome publication. For many years the publication of the late Dr. W. H. I. Bleek's manuscript vocabularies of Bushman have been eagerly desired by students of language, and it is most fortunate that their editing and publication have been carried through by that eminent philologist's daughter. It was generally believed that Dr. Bleek's vocabulary of the old Cape Bushmen comprised almost 10,000 words, and the compiler of this comparative study states that she has not used nearly all that material. Her work has covered a much wider and more varied field than that of her father, and a great deal of the present volume contains the results of her own field research among Bushman tribes in the Kalahari, the Transvaal, and as far north as Southern Angola. No one has a more intimate knowledge of the Bushman languages than has Miss Bleek.

The vocabularies are worked from English to Bushman and comprise about 1,000 English words, each with many equivalents according to the different tribes, with which the author deals.

Miss Bleek makes out a very good case for her division of the tribes into the three sections, Southern, Central and Northern, and connects the Central group more closely with the Nama Hottentot. She is at some pains to draw comparisons between the Hottentots and the Bushmen, comparisons which cannot be overlooked, but I feel that they do not serve to bridge the tremendous cultural and linguistic difference which undoubtedly separates the two into different "families." The fact that the Bushmen are, by nature, nomadic hunters and foragers, while the Hottentots are pastoralists, is of extreme importance. From the language point of view, while the Hottentots most probably derived their phonology and much of their vocabulary from the Bushmen, an examination of the Nama verb with its wealth of derivations, and the employment of three sex genders and three numbers, definitely links the Hottentots to the Hamitic family, while the purer Bushman tongues show no such affinity, but are isolating in type with a very

primitive grammatical structure. Some of the Central Bushman tribes have acquired slight suggestions of sex gender, but that has been from Hottentot contact. I see no reason for doubting the accuracy of the description of Nama "as a Hamitic language with Bushman admixture," adding that some Bushman languages show Hottentot admixture. The first contact of Hottentot with Bushman must have been many centuries ago, in all probability before the Bantu migration into Southern Africa.

The orthography which Miss Bleek has employed commends itself, but some of her phonetic descriptions are inaccurate. She states that, except for the clicks, she has adopted the spelling of the International Phonetic Association. Yet she uses the symbol φ to indicate "th" in "those"! In describing the clicks she states, "These clicks may also be followed by 'n,' the sound generally beginning at the same time as the click," which reads a little "Irish." One cannot help feeling that the real issue, that the click in such a case is "nasalised," has been avoided. Instrumental experiments have demonstrated that the clicks written with "n" (whether before or after) are nasal clicks, and those written with "g" are voiced clicks. The use of "n" and "g" can be defended as practical expediences, but do not represent the pronunciation with scientific accuracy.

It is a great pity that Miss Bleek has seen fit to incorporate as one, under the description "retroflex fricative click," two entirely distinct sounds, viz., "the retroflex click" and "the lateral click." I can only speak with personal experience of the *Ikung* language, but, in that, the two clicks are quite distinct and serve to distinguish words, otherwise alike phonetically. The Northern Bushman languages have five click positions; the old Cape Bushman four genuine click positions and the so-called lip click, which would perhaps be more accurately described as a type of "implosive p" with special lip position. All true clicks have two points of articulation of the tongue, and this is not the case with the "lip click."

In addition to the vocabulary, the introduction contains some most valuable comparative information concerning the habits and life of the different tribes. We are greatly indebted to Miss Bleek for a most painstaking piece of work, which will stand as a monument in Bushman studies.

C. M. DOKE.

*A Glossary of some Scientific terms used in Sanitary Practice by Swahili-speaking Africans.* By R. R. SCOTT, M.C., Dar-es-Salaam. Published by the Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, pp. 65.

This very useful and comprehensive little book affords a glimpse of the probable fate of most vernaculars of Africa. Several new words have been coined, e.g., *kiljidudu* (germ). Yet the number of foreign words used in explanation is enormous. In places the original character of the language is completely swamped. Practical utility, however, will be none the less for that.

N.J.v.W.

*Fables of the Veld.* By F. POSSELT, with foreword by Professor Carl Meinhof. (Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. xi. + 132, price 6s.).

This attractively got-up little book contains 46 Bantu tales collected from members of a number of tribes, most of whom belong to the Shona group. As Professor Meinhof pointed out in his preface, the value of the tales would have been greatly enhanced had the native texts been included, but the author's purpose in desiring to popularise native lore might thereby have been defeated. In quoting the origins of the tales (p. iii) it is a pity that a uniform system of referring to Bantu languages and dialects was not followed; for instance: *Nanzwa*, *Jindwi*, *Nyungwe*, *Rozwi*, *Zezuru*, *Njanja*, would have been more consistent than *Bananzwa*, *Jindwe*, *Nyungwe*, *Barozwi*, *Chizezuru*, *Sinjanja*. The stories are all typical Bantu fables, and have their counterparts in many of the North Rhodesian languages. The English rendering makes reading easy without departing, as far as one can judge, from the style of the originals. The book, apart from its appeal to students of folk-lore, should prove useful as a reader in native schools.

C.M.D.

*South African Native Law.* By G. M. B. WHITFIELD (Cape Town), Juta & Co., Ltd., pp. 507. Price 45s., plus postage.

The Native Administration Act of 1927, having "reshaped the Native administrative system" of the Union, calls for authoritative works that will give those who have to administer the system adequate knowledge of the body of Native Law that is recognisable under the Act.

Mr. Whitfield is an able and experienced Transkeian Magistrate, who brings to his task a wide knowledge of the Customary Law as found among the Transkeian tribes, and of the very considerable body of interpretative decisions of the Transkeian Courts. The volume should receive a welcome that will compensate the author for his laborious task.

The present work is concerned almost entirely with Native family law, and as such meets a need that has been made more urgent by the provisions of the Native Administration Act. The vast bulk of the Court work of a Native Commissioner is concerned with claims arising out of marriage and other family matters, and Mr. Whitfield gives us a clear statement of the Transkeian and Natal decisions. His treatment of the Transkeian decisions gains by his own wide knowledge of the field covered, and one is tempted to suggest that his work might have been more valuable had he devoted his book entirely to the Transkeian system, and thus have been able to cover the ground in more detail. Not that we are not very grateful for the synthesis achieved in this work, for no such material has been supplied to us from Natal. Perhaps Mr. Whitfield's example will stimulate someone in Natal to offer us a comprehensive work on the Natal law, leaving Mr. Whitfield more space in his next edition for Transkeian Law. It might be possible also for the author to reduce the length of his quotations in several cases and to assist the student by emphasising rather the salient points in the judgments and the legislation quoted.

It is impossible within the compass of this notice to discuss either the legal effects or the ethnological accuracy of any of the vast number of interpretative decisions quoted, and the author is, of course, concerned more with recording the content of Native Law as recognised in the Courts than with Native Law *per se*. The Ethnologist will, however, find ample material here for his own investigations, while the student, the lawyer and the administrator will be grateful for the invaluable help which the book offers them, and none of them can afford to do without it.

J.

*The Problem of Word-division in Bantu with Special Reference to the Languages of Mashonaland*, by CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt. (Senior Lecturer in Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand), Department of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia. Occasional Paper, No. 2.

Dr. Doke has rendered signal service to the study of Bantu languages in South Africa, both by his scientific work upon these languages, and by the practical applications of the results of his theoretical work which he has been so expeditious in giving us. Not the least of such service, to the present writer's mind, is the publication of this stimulating study on the problem of word-division. In twenty pages of text, to which Mr. H. Jowitt, Director of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia, gives a foreword, Dr. Doke treats successively of the nature and importance of the problem, the present systems of word-division in vogue in Mashonaland, word-division in Bantu generally, disjunctive word-division, conjunctive word-division, the fundamental rule regarding word-division, the classification of words according to the genius of the Bantu as opposed to other languages, a close parallel between Bantu and Latin as regards word-division, and a warning regarding some dangers to be avoided in a too radical application of rule-of-thumb methods of writing. Finally, he gives examples of conjunctive writing, of which he is a champion, in the languages of Mashonaland.

At the present time, when the orthography of more than one South African Bantu language is, as it were, in the melting-pot through the activities of the Central Orthography Committee (a sub-committee of the Union Education Department's Advisory Board on African Studies and Research), such a study upon one of the very important aspects of orthography by the Chairman of the Orthography Committee is particularly welcome. But it is welcome not only for its timeliness, but also because it raises a problem which affects all Bantu languages, and ultimately, the mother-tongue education of all the natives of Bantu Africa.

In a closely-reasoned argument, Dr. Doke discusses, in the main, the disjunctive and conjunctive methods of writing, criticising the former and championing the latter. He demonstrates that there is a natural word-division in the spoken language, obeying the fundamental rule that a word in Bantu contains one, and only one, main stress, and pleads for the observance of this natural law in our conventional manner of writing the Bantu languages. He feels that any other method, and more especially the disjunctive, is founded upon non-Bantu (usually English, French or German) ways of looking at grammar, and that such methods do violence to the grammatical genius of the Bantu languages. He shows that no system of disjunctive writing hitherto followed is fully consistent,

and brings evidence from school practice to show that whereas native speakers have the utmost difficulty in dividing words accurately according to a disjunctive system of writing, they divide naturally and accurately according to a conjunctive system. He cites many examples in support of all his statements, and leaves the conjunctive system of writing in a position more entrenched, if that were possible, than before.

There is no space here, and indeed no occasion, to enter upon a piecemeal criticism of the details adduced by Dr. Doke in support of his arguments. The present writer is convinced that, in theory at least, Dr. Doke is right. But this is not, at least in the first place, a matter of pure theory. A large number of practical considerations must enter also. Thus Dr. Doke says, rightly, that the words according to the conjunctive system that would appear to be really long are few. There may be different opinions as to what constitutes a really long word; at all events Dr. Doke will admit that the words of a disjunctive system will in general be much shorter than those of a conjunctive system. Again, natives are said to divide accurately according to a conjunctive system, and inaccurately according to a disjunctive one. It would be interesting to know whether all the Xosa-speaking natives really divide Xosa accurately, and whether all the natives of Basutoland divide Sotho inaccurately, given the same amount and quality of teaching in each system. Again, it is true that no disjunctive system of writing at present in use is strictly consistent, but then neither is any conjunctive system. Again, while one would admit Dr. Doke's definition of a word, and his grammatical categories, are these latter not also, after all, to some extent at least conventional, and does it matter so very, very much what particular convention we follow?

So much for the argument. A word of caution is necessary in addition to those whom the argument may convince, and who would out of their conviction proceed to apply a conjunctive method of writing to such languages as have hitherto followed a disjunctive one. Here one seriously doubts whether the game is worth the candle, whether the amount of dislocation caused is made up for by the gain in practical and workable efficiency. It is only fair to Dr. Doke to say that he does not advocate such a procedure: but

a word of warning is necessary to those who may not possess his caution.

But all this in no way affects the stimulating and helpful nature of the pamphlet before us, for which we ought to be very grateful to the author.

G. P. LESTRADE.

*Races of Africa.* By C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.C.P., F.R.S., London, Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1930, pp. 256. (Home University Library, No. 144.) 2s. 6d.

There has long been the need for a book such as this. Concise and lucid, it provides a most useful introduction to the ethnology of Africa, an introduction which the layman will appreciate all the more because it is so eminently readable, and which the specialist will value for its skilful marshalling of data and clarifying discussion of problems. The task of presenting and interpreting in so short a space the vast mass of material relating to the races and cultures of Africa is one of unquestionable difficulty, and many students in different parts of the continent will no doubt lament that far too little, if anything at all, has been said about the tribes in which they are particularly interested; but on the whole, Professor Seligman has succeeded unusually well in his treatment of the subject.

The introductory chapter, defining the chief criteria of race and the main divisions of mankind inhabiting Africa, is followed by another on the most primitive existing African peoples, the Negritos and the Bushmen, as well as on the Hottentots, who "so closely resemble the Bushmen that in a small work such as this it is inadvisable to separate them." Succeeding chapters deal, first with the Negroes and then with the Hamites, the two outstanding racial stocks of Africa, and then follow a series of chapters on the Negro peoples permeated by Hamitic blood and culture: the "Half-Hamites" of East Africa and East Central Africa (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Suk, etc.), the Nilotes (Shilluk, Lango, Dinka, Nuer, etc.), and finally the Bantu of Central and Southern Africa. The concluding chapter, on the Semites, brings the racial history of Africa up to within relatively recent times. In each case Professor Seligman first discusses briefly the racial history of the group, then describes concisely but fully its physical characters, and finally gives an account of the main elements in its culture. The pages dealing with the native peoples of South Africa will perhaps appeal most

to readers of this journal; they depict admirably the salient characters of each group, and little of importance appears to have been overlooked. The Bushmen and the Hottentots, in particular, are described in some detail, and with an accuracy and balance frequently absent from comprehensive works of this type. Incidentally, it is worth noting that the specialist student of South African ethnology, too apt to become completely engrossed in his own narrow field, will find in this book an extremely serviceable guide for linking up his facts and problems with those of African ethnology as a whole, and thus obtaining the right perspective for his researches.

The book is well got up and clearly printed throughout, and the three maps, showing respectively the distribution of language families in Africa, the main types of environment, and the different groups of hamiticized Negroes, form a welcome and indispensable supplement to the text. In the chapter dealing with the Bantu there are a few misprints which could conveniently be corrected when the next issue of the book is called for. On pp. 182, 183 *omu-tile* and *aba-tile* should read *omu-hle* and *aba-hle* respectively; *Sekukimi* on p. 192 should be *Sekukuni*; *isibongo*, second last line on p. 196, should be *izibongo*; and *Nthlanga* and *Uthlanga* on p. 201 should read *Uhlenqa*.

I. SCHAPERA.

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# SOME ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS IN SEKGATLA.

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By I. SCHAPERA, M.A., PH.D.

The following texts are drawn from a collection made by me during a recent field-work trip to the BaKgatla-ba-Kgafela of Bechuanaland Protectorate, which was financed by a research grant from the School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town. Their value as ethnographical documents is relatively slight, for they are obviously incomplete in many respects ; but they are of some interest at least as showing what details are seized upon by the people themselves for descriptive purposes. As linguistic material their importance is more considerable, since with the solitary exception of a small catechism issued by the Dutch Reformed Church, no other publications appear to be available in this dialect of SeChwana. I reproduce them exactly as they were written or dictated to me by my informants. Pending the establishment of a uniform practical orthography for SeChwana, I have thought it best to follow the orthography in use among the BaKgatla at the present time, which is based on that for SeSuto. The only change I have made has been to substitute *d* wherever my informants wrote *l* before *i* and *u*. The translations were made on the spot with the help of my informants, and although exact renderings have not been aimed at, I have attempted to maintain as far as possible the idiom of the originals. The annotations are based upon my own observations, the results of which will be published in due course.

## MATSALO.

(HENDRIK MOLEFI.)

Ngoana ge a tsetsoe ke boitumelo bo bogolo. Go itsisioe go tsaloa ga ngoana koa kgotleng. Ge e le mosimane, motho, e leng mosadi, o tsaea thupa a ea koa banna ba ntseng teng fa kgotleng, mme a fitlhe a gamotse rra ngoana ka eona go mo itsise ka gona gore o tsaletsoe mosimane. A re : u tsaletsoe modisa. Mme ge ngoana e le mosetsana, mosadi o ea koa kgotleng a tshotse metsi ka sego, a fitlhe a tshele rra ngoana ka 'ona go mo itsise ge a tsaletsoe mosetsana, eo o tla eang nokeng go ga metsi. Mme ba ba itsisitsoeng go tsaloa ga ngoana, ba gabosadi le ba gabosonna, le ditsala, ba thusa ka

go tlisa metsi le dikgong, mme gape ge ba ea teng koa motsetseng ba roala mabele ka tlatlana. Kgosi le eona e itsisioe jalo, kampo kgosana, mme e tla gopola motsetse eoo, ka go mo romela dinama ge di le teng, kampo ge go tlisitsoe dimpa tsa diphologolo a mo romela engoe, esita le mabele ge go le tlala. Ge ngoana a tsoa morago ga kgoedi kampo tse pedi, go apeoa byaloa bo bo noang ke basadi fela, bo bo bidioang mosutele. Janong rra ngoana a batle thari e tla belegang ngoana, ke gore a thabé nku.

(Translation).

### BIRTHS.

When a child is born it is a great joy. The birth of the child is announced in the public courtyard. If it is a boy, a person, being a woman,<sup>1</sup> takes a wooden switch, she goes to the men who are sitting in the courtyard, and on reaching them she beats the child's father with it, to inform him thereby that a boy has been born to him. She says: a herdboy has been born to you. And if the child is a girl, the woman goes to the courtyard carrying water in a calabash, and on reaching there, she pours it over the father of the child to let him know that a girl has been born to him, who will go down to the river to draw water. And the people to whom the birth of the child has been announced, the relatives of the woman and the relatives of the man, and friends, help by bringing water and wood, and also when they visit the woman who is confined they carry corn in a basket. The chief or headman is also informed, and he will think about that confined woman by sending her meat if there is any, or when pieces of biltong are brought he will send her one, or even corn if there is starvation. When the child comes out after a month or two,<sup>2</sup> beer is cooked which must be drunk by women only, it is called "manure." Then the father of the child looks for the skin in which it will be carried (on its mother's back), that is, he kills a sheep.<sup>3</sup>

### MANYALO.

(HENDRIK MOLEFI.)

Ka Sesotho ngoana oa mosimane kampo oa mosetsana ga a na boithatelo. O lebeletse thato ea batsadi ba gagoe. Jalo ge ngoana oa mosimane a setse a godile, mme a le mo dinyageng tsa gore a

### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup>Usually the mother of the confined woman. This rite, I was told, is as a rule performed only on the birth of the first child, which generally takes place in the household of the wife's parents.

<sup>2</sup>After the birth, both mother and child are secluded in the hut for a period of about two months; and on their emergence several rites are performed, of which the beer-drink mentioned above forms part.

<sup>3</sup>"If he doesn't wish to kill a sheep," said my informant, "he will kill a cow in calf, and use the amnion of the unborn calf as *thari*."

nyale, bagolo ba gagoe ba mmatlela mosetsana eo ba mo ratang gore a nyaloë ke moroa oa bona. Ba bua le bagolo ba moroetsana ; ge ba sena go utloana ba dumellana ; bagolo ba mosimane ba tla bolella moroa oa bona gore ba mmatletse moroadi oa ga nkètè gore a mo nyale, le bagolo ba mosetsana ba bolella moroadi oa bona jalo. Bana bao ba tla dumela le go latela thato ea batsadi ba bona, lege ba ne ba sa bua mmogo, ba bile ba sa itsanye.

Fagongoe lekau le bue le moroetsana ka tsa go ratana, gore ba nyalane. Mme ge bagolo ba mosimane ba sa rate, ba gana, mme janong lerato leo lea kgaoga ; le ba mosetsana, bagolo ge ba sa rate moroadi oa bona a nyaloë ke lekau, go nna fela jalo, lerato la bona le tla kgaoloa. Ge bagolo ka ntsha tse pedi ba rata mafoko a bana ba bona, go siame ba nyalana.

Thero ea Lenyalo.—Lenyalo ge le reroa, bagolo ba mosimane le ba mosetsana ba itsise ba bona le ditsala tse di tshoanetseng go tsena mo morerong oo. Pele bagolo ba mosimane ba kopa ba moroetsana gore ba neoe mosadi ba nyale. Ge lenyalo le tloga go bile go itsisioe malom'a mosimane, etsoe o sa le a bolelloa ge mosadi a batloa ; le bagolo ba mosetsana ba itsise malom'agoe. Malom'a mosimane o tla ntsha kgomo go nyadisa setlogolo sa gagoe. Gape ke ene e'o tla jang tlhogo ea kgomo e tla tlhabyoang mo lenyalong, le byaloa bo tsoëla malome, go bidioa tlhogo le bona.

Bogadi.—Koa gabò mosimane go tsoa kgomo, kampo dikgomo di ea gabò mosetsana. Ga go palo e beiloeng go tlhomama ea dikgomo tsa bogadi ; motho eo sa humang o ntsha e le 'ngoe, eo nonofileng o ntsha tse tharo, tse nne jalo jalo. Malom'a mosetsana o ntsha kgomo e jesang bogadi, ea tlhabyoa ; mme o tloga ka kgomo e'ngoe.

(Translation).

### MARRIAGES.

According to native custom<sup>1</sup>, a child, whether boy or girl, has no freedom of action. It looks to the will of its parents. Thus, when a boy is already grown up, and is of the age when he should marry, his parents seek for him a girl whom they like, so that she may be married by their son. They speak to the parents of the girl ; after they have come to an understanding, they make an agreement ; the parents of the boy will tell their son that they have engaged the daughter of so-and-so for him to marry, and in the same way the

<sup>1</sup>Ka Sesotho, lit., "in Sesuto." This phrase is heard almost as often in the speech of the BaKgatla as *ka Setsoana*, "in Setsoana," i.e., according to Chwana custom.

parents of the girl tell their daughter. These children will agree to the will of their parents, although they may not have spoken together, and although they do not know each other.

In some cases a youth speaks (directly) to a girl about mutual love, so that they may marry. But if the parents of the boy do not like that, they refuse, and now that love is broken ; and if the girl's parents do not want their daughter to be married by that youth, the same thing happens, the love of the children shall be broken. If the parents on both sides like the words of their children, it is all right, they marry.

*Discussions about Marriage.*—When the marriage is being discussed, the boy's parents and the girl's parents make it known to their relatives and friends that they must come into these discussions. First the parents of the boy ask those of the girl that they may be given her as wife. When the marriage is to take place, it is again made known to the boy's mother's brother,<sup>2</sup> although he was previously told when the girl was engaged ; and the girl's parents likewise inform her mother's brother. The boy's mother's brother will take out an ox to marry his sister's son. He is also the one who will eat the head of the beast slaughtered for the marriage, and beer which is taken out for the mother's brother<sup>3</sup> is also called *tlhogo* (head).<sup>4</sup>

*Bogadi.*—From the boy's home come a cow or cows which go to the girl's people. There is no fixed number for the *bogadi* cattle ; a poor person takes out only one, a wealthy person takes out three or four and so on. The mother's brother of the girl takes out the cow which "feeds the *bogadi*" ; it is killed, and he receives one of the (*bogadi*) cattle.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>As a rule he is the *malome o molebanyeng*, i.e., the mother's brother who was specially coupled with the mother by their father while they were still children, and who, therefore, plays a prominent part in many of the rites and activities connected with the mother and her children. To the latter he is the *malome par excellence*. This coupling together of a brother and a sister, of two brothers, and of two sisters, is an outstanding feature in the kinship system of the BaKgatla.

<sup>3</sup>Whenever a man slaughters an animal, the head is always the part that must be given to his *malome*, whence the latter is sometimes referred to as *mojalhogo*, "eater of the head."

<sup>4</sup>Of the *bogadi* cattle received for a girl, one animal at least must be given to her *malome o molebanyeng*, in return, said several of my informants, for the one he kills at her marriage "to feed the *bogadi*."

LESO.  
(HENDRIK MOLEFI.)

Motho ge a soa go utloala sello sa mosadi ; o itlhabela mokgosi, janong batho ba phallele teng. Mme mosoi ge a sena go phuthoa o ea go fitlhoa go se tiego, batho ga ba rate go bapa le serepa. Ge e le motho eo o nang le lehumo, go tlhabioa kgomo, ge e le monna o phuthoa ka letlalo la eona le sa le metsi. Metlheng ea bogologolo motho ge a fitlhoa o na a sa rapalatsoe go ladioa mo letsoeng ; o na a kotamisioa, mme ge go sen'o busedioa mmu go beoa letlapa le le phaphathi godimo ga tlhogo ea gagoe. Ge banna ba boa koa phitlhong ba ea fa kgotleng, mme go tlisioe metsi a roeloe ke mosadi ka nkgo, a boele koa lapeng, janong banna ba tlhape diatla tsa bona gore ba tshoere mosoi ; ba tlhape babotlhe le ba ba sa tshoarang serepa, ke mokgoa.

Basadi ba apaea mesokoana, ga e shabioe ka sepe, mme go ja babotlhe ba ba tlileng lesong. Go tlhabioa kgomo e e bidioang ea mogoga, mme e jeoa phakela kampo mantsiboea ; dinama ga di lokoe ka letsoai, gonie ke ea bofutsana. Go bile go apaoa byaloa bo bo bidioang masoe, bo phuthegeloa ke batho ba bo noa. Mme bo ne bo noeboa mo morokong, bo sa tlhotloa. Dinama tsa mogoga kampo byaloa ba masoe ga go tseeloe sepe ke motho go isa lapeng la gagoe.

Gape ge mosoi e le monna kampo mosadi o begeloa ka kgomo koa kgotleng, koa kgosing (monna), mme e bolaoe fela ge e fitlha e sa leisoe gore e eme lege e le go tsena mo sakeng ; e jeloa fa kgotleng. E e begelang mosadi e isioa gabu. Mme kgomo eo e begelang mosoi e bidioa pola-motho.

Mokgoa mongoe bakeng sa mosoi ke gore ge monna a soetsoe ke mosadi kampo mosadi ke monna, ga na go tsamaea mo bathong, o nna fa lapeng ; mme o tla begeloa koa kgosing, mme janong morena a laele gore go bidioe ngaka ea motse go e'o alafa motho eoo, go mo ntsha fa lapeng. Go tlhabioa podi, mme ngaka e ntsha tse dingoe tsa ka fa teng go alafa ka tsona e di tlhakantse le ditlhare. Janong ngaka e roala dinama tsotlhe tsa podi ka letlalo, e ea le tsona go di ja koa tlung ea eona. Monna kampo mosadi ga toe o alafioa bosoagadi. Mosoagadi ga itsheka, mme itshekologo ea gagoe e tla tloga letlhabula ge motlhaba oa mabele o dule.

Mokgoa o mongoe gape : diaparo tsa mosoi di tseoa ke malom'agoe ; ga toe o tlide go tsaea ditlhako tsa setlogolo. Bana ba mosoi, motlha malom'a motsadi oa bona a tlang ditlhakong tsa

setlogolo, o bile o tlie go ba beola. Go tlhabioa kgomo, ea jeoa ke bana ba setlogolo le ba bona. Fagongoe ba tloga ba ea peolong koa go malom'arrabo. Go beoloa ga go tlosioe moriri otlhe mo tlhogong ; o sekoloa koa tlase go dikolosa tlhog.

Mokgoa o mongoe gape : Motha ge a sule mme a fitlhiloe, bogolo ge e le oa madi a borena, go ntshioa banna go disa phupu bosigo go tloga phirimana ea tsatsi le a epetsoeng ka lona ; ba tshotse marumo, mme ba dira ka malatsinyana, gonne go toe go ka tla batho bosigo (baloi), ba epolla serepa sa mosoi, mme ba tsaea dingoe tsa dinama tsa gagoe go di tlhakanya le mere e e bolaeang, go fedisa ba lesika la borena ka tsona.

(Translation).

### DEATH.

When a person dies, the cry of the wife is heard ; she is calling for help, and so the people run to her. And after the dead person has been wrapped up, he is taken to be buried without any delay, for the people do not like to remain near the corpse. If it is a person possessing anything, a cow is killed ; if a man, he is wrapped up in its wet skin. In olden days when a person was buried, he was not laid outstretched in the grave ; he was place in a crouching position, and after the soil had been replaced, a flat stone is put (upright) over his head. When the men return from the burial they go to the public courtyard, and water is brought in a pot by a woman ; she goes back to the house, and now the men wash their hands because they have taken hold of the dead person ; they all wash, even those who had not held the corpse ; it is a custom.

The women cook porridge,<sup>1</sup> it is not to be seasoned with anything, and all those who have come to the death eat. A cow is slaughtered, called *mogoga*, and it is eaten early in the morning or in the afternoon ; the meat is not to be salted, since it is for sadness. Beer is to be cooked, called "dirt" ; people are gathered to drink it, and it is drunk in the husks, not strained out (like ordinary beer). None of the meat called *mogoga* or beer called "dirt" may be taken by anybody to his lapa.

Again, if the dead person is a man or a woman, the death (in the case of a man) is reported to the chief's kgotla by means of an ox, and it is killed directly it arrives, without being allowed to stand

<sup>1</sup> *Mesokoana* or *mosokoana* is porridge made by adding meal to water boiling over the fire in a pot, and stirring the mixture until it is ready for eating. The more common variety of porridge, also made from Kafir corn, is *ting*, prepared by adding the meal to boiling water which had been poured into a clay pot, them stirring the mixture and finally leaving it in the sun for a while so that it turns sour.

about (for a while) or to enter the kraal ; it is eaten at the kgotla.<sup>2</sup> The one that reports (the death of) a woman is sent to her home. And the animal reporting the death of a person is called *pola-motho*.<sup>3</sup>

Another custom about a dead person is that if a man's wife is dead or a woman's husband, the survivor is not allowed to walk amongst the people ; he stays at home, and is reported to the chief, who now orders that the doctor of the village be called to "doctor" that person and so take him out of the house (*i.e.*, purify him). A goat is slaughtered, and the doctor takes out some of the entrails to "doctor" with them, after mixing them with medicine. Then he carries away all the flesh of the goat in the skin to go and eat them at his hut. A man or a woman, it is said, is "doctored" for widowhood. The survivor is not pure, and his impurity shall be cleansed in the autumn when the corn has already sprouted.

Still another custom is that the clothes of the deceased are taken by his mother's brother ; it is said that "he has come to take the shoes of his sister's son." The children of the deceased, at the time when the mother's brother of their parent comes "for the shoes" of his sister's son, are also shaved by him. An ox is slaughtered and eaten by the children of the sister's son and others. Sometimes they go for the shaving to the home of their father's mother's brother. When shaving they don't remove all the hair from the head ; only the bottom part is shaved right round the head.

Another custom again is that when a person is dead and buried, especially if he is of the royal blood, some men are selected to guard the grave after sunset on the day when it has been dug ; they are armed with spears, and they do this for a few days, for it is said that people (wizards) may come there at night, remove the corpse of the dead person, and take certain parts of his flesh to mix with deadly poisons, by means of which they can put an end to those of the royal blood who are still alive.

### KAGA MAGOANE.

(MODISE RAPOO.)

Basimane ba batona ba ba bidioang magoane, ea tle e re ka ngoaga mongoe le mongoe ba iphuthe go eo bina mmakgoana. Ge pula e seno go na, magoane a bolla a ea moretloeng, ba tsamaea mo

<sup>2</sup>This custom of reporting the death of a man by means of an ox sent to the chief's kgotla does not apply where the deceased is an ordinary member of the tribe ; it is actually carried out only where he is a headman (*kgosana*) or a person of some importance and standing.

<sup>3</sup>*Pola* is probably derived from the verb *bolaea*, to kill ; hence *kgomo ea pola-motho* would be "the ox that kills a person."

nageng eotlhe, ba ntse ba phuthana. Ge ba tsamaea mo nageng jana, ba tsamaea ba sa apara sepe, ba apere matlalonyana fela, e le ona dikobo tsa bona bosigo le motshegare. Ba kgetla dimpa ba betsana ka tsona mme ba fetlha ka dithobane. Ge ba tsena fa morakeng oa motho, ba fitlhela go le basimane ba ire se ba se ratang, ba tsee dijo ba je, kampo ba fitlhela logoane teng ba setse ba mo raea ba re, tloga, re tsamaea. Ge a pala ba mmetsa thata ka dimpa tsa bona gore a be a nne a tsamae a tlogele kgomo tsa gabo di le nnosi mo nageng. Ge ba tsamaea jana go na le o mongoe o bidioa tshimega. Tshimega ke gore o tsabioang ke babotlhe, ene o tsamaea a sa tsola sepe fela, o di naea basimane ba bangoe fela. Ge ba bolaile mmutla kampo photi ba mmegella, ke ene moji oa mateng a diphologolo tse. Ge mosimane a batla letlalo la phuduhudu, o kopa tshimega.

Ba simolla go phuthana koa tlase ga dinoka go tlo fitlha mo gae, ba be ba ea koa bophirimatsatsi, go ngoe go bidioang dikgalaopa. Dikgalaopa ke gore lebatla le ba otlannang teng. Ba fete ba tlhaolane, baKgosing ba ea go sele, baMabudisa ba nne go sele. Janong ba tloge ba otlane, ba otlane jaka dichaba tse pedi di loa, ba betsana ka sebaka se setelle thata, gore ba ntla engoe ba se thata ba be ba tshabe thata. Ge ba seno go tshaba, ba bangoe ba be ba boa, janong go be go ioa gae. Pele ba ea gae ba tsoma mebutla, ge ba seno go e bolaea ba be ba kgobokana go ioa gae. Tshimega tse tharo di be di tsaea mebutla le meretloa le ngata tsa dimpa, ba etella koa pele. Janong go be go tseoaa magatlapa ba roesoa dithoto, ba tla ba opela pina tsa magoane, o mongoe kampo babedi ba e tlabeletsa, go tlo tsena mo gae. Ditshimega tsona di sa bollo fitlha, ge di fitlha di fete di baea mebutla fa fatseng le meretloa mo dipatane tsa bona le dimpa fa fatseng. Ba be ba kgoathe, go fitlhele magoane a mantsi a tla ; ge ba seno go tsena fa kgotleng, monna o mongoe o tloga a ba betska kampo a ba raea a re, tsogang; ge ba tsoga ba be ba ea go thiba koa kgorong, gore ere ge magoane a mantsi a tshaba ba ba patelle. Ba bantsi le bona ge ba fitlha ba setse ba kgoatha, banna ge ba rata go ba betska ba be ba ba betska, ge ba tsoga ba be ba emisa pina, ba otlane thata ; janong mebutla le meretloa e nne tsa banna bagolo ba e je. Janong basimane e leng magoane ba be ba teioa go toe tsamaeang, ba be ba ea koa marakeng. Maraka ke gore koa ba phatlalelang teng. Ba be ba ea koa malapeng a bona, ba metse e e koa kgakala ge ba rata go robala ba lala mo gae, ere ka moso ba be ba tsamaea.

Ba simolla jalo ka ngoaga le ngoaga. Janong ge ba fitlha mo gae ere bosigo ba emise pina. Ge ba fitlhela basetsana ba tsanoka

ba ba agella, basetsana ba tla opela, mme basimane ba tla bina, ba roele matloo mo maotong, e tla re ge ba bina a dire modumonyana. Batho ba batona ba tla eo bona, gore eo o itseng go bina ke mang. Fangongoe mosimane o ka emisa pina a nnosi, mme a re a ntse a bina, ga tla logoane le lengoe le tla la betsa banyana gore ba tshabe, ge ba tshaba mme mosimane o le a leka go ba thibela, logoane le tla betsa ene go fitlhelle a ba a tshaba, le banyana ba tla tshabe. Fagongoe basimane ba tse dithukui tsa basetsana kabomo, mme mosetsana a gana ka eona, mosimane o tla mmetsa, gore mosetsana a be a e lese, kampo ba tsee ditalama kampo manyena. Batho ba batona ga nke ba re sepe. Magoane a pele ethata, gobane fagongoe ba a tle ba dike motho a le mongoe ba mmetsa ka dithobane le melamu. Le ge a ka soa ga nke ba kgathala, ba tla mo tlogela a sule. Gatoe mosimane ke mpja, lege a sule.

(Translation.)                    **ABOUT THE MAGOANE.**

The big boys called *magoane*<sup>1</sup> assemble together from year to year to dance *mmakgoana*.<sup>2</sup> After the rain has begun to fall, the *magoane* prepare "to go out gathering *moretloa* berries";<sup>3</sup> they go all over the land, and keep on assembling together. When they go about in the veld in this way they wear nothing but small skins, these are their blankets night and day. They cut switches (from bushes) and whip one another with them, or they beat each other with sticks. When they come to a cattle-post, and find that the small boys have got some food which they like, they simply take the food and eat it, or if they find a *logoane* there they say to him : "Come on, we are going." If he refuses, they beat him severely with their whips until he goes with them, leaving his cattle alone in the veld. When they go about like this there is one of them called *tshimega*;<sup>4</sup> he is feared by all the others ; and as he goes he carries nothing with him, giving it all to some of the smaller boys. When they kill a hare or a duiker they report it to him, and he is the one who eats the entrails of these animals. If one of the boys wants a skin out of which to make a loin-skin, he asks the *tshimega* for it.

<sup>1</sup>This word (sing. *logoane*) is applied to all the boys who are to be incorporated in the next *mophato* ("regiment").

<sup>2</sup>Special name applied to the dances and songs of the *magoane*.

<sup>3</sup>*Go ea moretloeng*, "to go out gathering *moretloa* berries" (*Grewia sp.*), is the standard phrase applied to this annual assembling of the *magoane*, and is probably derived from the fact that while out in the veld the boys spend much of their time gathering and eating these berries, which ripen about this time of the year.

<sup>4</sup>Lit., "the main body or centre of an army" (Brown's *Sezwana-English Dictionary*), but applied principally by the BaKgatla to the leading boys of the *magoane*.

They begin gathering themselves down at the rivers,<sup>5</sup> and end up at home (i.e., at Mochudi), passing to the west to a place called *dikgalaopa*, that is, an open space where they fight together.<sup>6</sup> On reaching there they separate (into two parties); those of Kgosing on the one side, those of Mabudisa on the other.<sup>7</sup> Now they begin to fight, they fight just like two nations at war, they whip one another for a very long time, until those of the weaker side run away. After running away they come back again, and now they go home. Before they go home they hunt hares, and after they have killed a number they form up to go home. Three of the *tshimegas* carry the hares and *moretloa* berries and bundles of switches, and go in front. The weaklings (cowards) are made to carry the burdens of the others, and they go along singing the songs of the *magoane*, one or two of the boys leading the chorus, until they arrive at home. The *tshimegas* have already arrived (i.e. at the chief's *kgotla*); on arriving they lay the hares, the *moretloa* berries in their skin bags, and the switches on the floor; they then lie outstretched on the ground until the other *magoane* come. When they have entered the *kgotla*, one of the men begins to whip them (with the switches) or he tells them to get up; when they get up they go to close up the entrance to the *kgotla*, so as to prevent the other *magoane* from fleeing. The other *magoane* on arriving also lie down, and the men if they like to whip them do so; when they get up they sing their songs and fight with one another. The hares and the berries are given to the old men to eat. Now the boys are told to go away, and they go to the place called *maraka*, from which they scatter to their homes.<sup>8</sup> Those belonging to outlying villages sleep in the stad (i.e. in Mochudi) if they want to, and on the following day go back home.

They gather in this way every year (until they are given their *mophato*). When they arrive at home they sing songs at night. If they find girls playing they surround them, the girls will sing, and

<sup>5</sup>The Marico and the Crocodile, which form the boundaries between the Transvaal and the BaKgatla Reserve, and along which there are a number of important Kqatla villages (Mabalane, Sikwane, Mathubuduqwane and Maloloane.)

<sup>6</sup>The word *dikgalaopa* is used for any large open space in the bush, but particularly for a large clearing near Morwa village (about six miles west of Mochudi), where the *magoane* assemble at the end of their journey about the country.

<sup>7</sup>The BaKgatla are divided into five main *dikgoro* (baKgosing, baMorema, baMabudisa, baTshukudu and Manamakgothe), each subdivided into smaller *dikgoro*. In the present instance, the two parties into which the *magoane* are grouped for their "battle" are baKgosing on the one hand, and baMabudisa with the remaining three on the other. I was told that if the boys of baKgosing (the royal *kgoro*) are defeated in this fight, the formation of the new *mophato* would be delayed a while.

<sup>8</sup>An open space close to the road leading out of Mochudi to Pilane Station, just beyond the Mochudi Trading Stores.

the boys dance, having tied dancing rattles round their feet, so as to make a noise while they are dancing. The big people will come to watch the dance and see who excels in it. Sometimes a boy will start dancing alone, and while he is dancing another *logoane* will come and beat the girls (who are singing for the boy) so that they run away; when they run away and the boy (for whom they were singing) tries to call them back, the *logoane* will beat him too until he runs away like the girls. Sometimes again the boys deliberately take away "doeks" from the girls, and if a girl refuses to give hers the boy will whip her until she allows him to, or they take necklaces or earrings. The old people can say nothing about this. The *magoane* are very savage, for sometimes they fall upon a person who is alone (i.e. upon another *logoane*) and beat him with sticks and clubs; they don't mind whether he dies, they will leave him to die there. People say, "a boy is a dog, whether he dies doesn't matter."

### KAGA MOPHATO.

(MODISE RAPOO.)

Ge basimane be ea go fioa leina la bona la mophato, eare pele go ise go bolloe go a tlo go siloe mefago. Pele gore batho ba ete ba a ja, janong ge ba seno go bakanya mefago, ba be ba bolla, go panoa dikoloi ba bangoe dikotsekara. Ba laisa dithotoana tsa bona mo teng. Ge ba fitlha ka fa ntle, basimane babotlhe ba e leng ba ba eang go teioa leina, ba latlhisoro dilo tsotlhe tsa bogoane fa ba lalang teng. Ba lala ba opela ba rutoa pina tsa sechaba. Phakela ba tsoga ba ea go tsoma ka ditlhoboro le melamu diphologolo tsotlhe: tholo, photi, phuduhudu le tse dingoe tse ditona thata. Ge ba bolaea ga ba di bue, ba di naea banna ba di bue. Ge ba tsoma jana, ba tsamaea le bomogolo a bona, go tloga fa ba letseng teng, ba ntse ba siane ba eta ba bolaea, ba dirile letsholo go tsenya diphologolo fa gare. Ge di seno go buioa, di be di apeioa, kgoro ngoe le ngoe e ja phologolo tsa eona. Ba shaba mesokoana ka gore koa teng go jeoa mesoko fela, ka e le banna fela ga ba je ting.

Ka tsatsi le letsatsi phakela basimane ba tsosoa ba ea go tlhapa ka metsi a maruru. Nako e ba isioang mophato ka eona ke ea mariga, ke gore go iteloa gore ba ga tsele ba gamoge ba sekba tshaba phefo, e ne banna ba ba thata mo phefong. Ka tsatsi le lengoe le le lengoe ba phakedisioa go tlhapa ka metsi a maruru, ge ba boa ga ba nne fa mollong, ba ea kgonye; ge e ba tsoa koo, ba ea nokeng ka dikgamelo le melutoana. Ge ba ea go tsoma mongoe le mongoe o tsaea tlhoboro, molutoana o na le metsi, kobo ea gagoe, pata ea gagoe e na le marumo, thiipa, ditlhako. Ge e ka re go sianoe go bonoa o mongoe oa bona a

le koa morago ba mo routha ka legong, le go na ge mosimane a dira bochiki o iteioa thata ; gape ge go opeloa mosimane a bonoa a sa opele oa betsoa. Ba sianisioa lebelo le letona thata, le ge mosimane a le bokooa a beng a loale ; mo ngoageng o fetileng go no go loala basimane ba le bantsi thata, ke gore ge ba tsoma ba tsenyetsa diphologolo fa gare go di bolaea. Go betsoa jana gore ba itse ge e le banna, ba latlhisiao go tshameka ga bogoane.

Mme ka na ge ba le koa nageng jana, leina ga ba ise ba le bolelloe, go fitlhele ba boa koa teng. Ge ba boa koa nageng go tla gae, ba kgotisioa pele, ba phuthegile go beletsoa gongoe, ba betsoa jana, mophato mongoe le mongoe o betsa monnaona, go fitlhele go betsa bogoera, le bona ba betsoa ke bomogolo bona, ba ba lataganang ; janong ge ba seno go betsoa, ba be ba phatlhelela koa metlaganeng ea bona. Ere mantsiboea ka nako ea bone mokgosi o bo o lla go toe ba phutege, ba phuthege ba beioe ka bogolo ba bona mo sechabeng, kgosi ea bona pele o molataganang mo bogosing. Ba nne ba opela pina tsa sechaba tsa setsoana tse di opeloang ke banna fela. Banna ba be ba bolella gore go tsogo go ioa gae, basimane bona ga ba bolelloe le sepe fela le ge e le se sengoe gore go ioa gae, ba bona fela go toe tloga, re tsamaeng. Ba be ba phatlalla, ba ea koa metlaganeng ea bona. Basimane ba e nokeng kgonye, bomogolo a bona ba apee. Tsatsing leo ba tseeloa dilo tsotlhe—tukui, leseka, lenyena le tse dingoe tse di tsoanetseng bogoane, dipata tse di segoa se nna tota. Ge ba seno go ja ba lala ba opela bosigo bobotlhe, go lla mpa fela ge mosimane a sa opele.

Janong ere gare ga bosigo ba be ba tloga ba ea gae, ba tsamae go tlo go tsena mogae, go sa tlho go itisitse motho ope fela. Ba fetele koa molapong, ge ba tsena mogae ba tsena ba didimetse tota, ge o bua oa betsoa, ba feta ba gotsa mello, ba robala. Ka bosigo ge ba tsoga ge tsatsi ba phuthegela fa pele ga kgosi, banna ba nna fa pele ga basimane, basimane ba nna go selo, ba lebela koa kgosing e leng teng, ba opele pina e lengoe kampo di lepedi fela, ba be ba didimala. Janong ba be ba bolella leina gotoe le makete. Ere ge ba seno go bolella leina, ba be ba kgaogangoa, baKgosing ba tsamaea go sele, baMabudisa le bona ba tsamaea koa morago ga baKgosing.

Ge ba fitlha koa kgotleng, ba nne fa fatseng, mme ge ba tsamaea jana basimane ba tsengoa fa gare gore basadi ba sekba ba bona. Janong ere ge ba fitlha ka fa kgotleng banna ba thibegele gore mongoe le mongoe eo o ratang go bona basimane ba mophato a ba bone pila. Ba ise ba fitlhee fa kgotleng. Ge ba fitlha koa kgotleng, banna bagolo ba ba dumedise fela ka melomo e seng ka diatla. Janong

go be go ntsioa kgosi ea bona ba e supegidioa le molatedi oa gagoe. Ge go seno go tualo go be go phatlalloa, fela pele go phatlalloa kgoro ngoe le ngoe e tsamaea le mophato oa eona. Ba isioa koa gae mo makgotlaneng a bona. Kgosi e sa le e tlhaba kgomo. Ere mantsi-boea go be go phuthegeloa koa kgotleng go ja dinama, gape ba be ba bolelloe gore janong ke banna ba itse ge ba patela opogafa. Ge go phatlaloa motshegare fa kgotleng, kgoro ngoe le ngoe e eta e opela, ba thuntsa ditlhoboro tsa bona, ba tila thata le bona, banna ba bafsha ba rutoa go tila ka tlhoboro tsa bona. Ka fa molapong ge ba ira gore batho ba itse ge mophato o gorogile go thuntsioa ditlhoboro thata, morena le banna, mongoe le mongoe, a thuntsa ea gagoe.

(Translation.)      **ABOUT THE MOPHATO.<sup>1</sup>**

When boys go out to be given the name of their regiment, before they can assemble to be taken out provisions must be prepared. Before they set out on their journey they eat, and when the provisions have been prepared they assemble together, wagons and carts<sup>2</sup> are inspanned and their goods placed inside. After they arrive outside (in the veld) all the boys who are to be given their (regimental) name are told to put aside everything pertaining to *bogoane* (the state of being a *logoane*). They spend the night there, they sing and are taught the songs of the tribe. Early in the morning when they arise they go to hunt with their guns and clubs all kinds of game : Kudu, duiker, steenbok and others. After killing them they don't skin them, they give them to the men to skin. When they hunt in this way, they go with their elder brothers, starting from the place where they slept, they keep on running and killing, they make a circular drive to surround the animals. When the game has been skinned, it is cooked, and each kgoro eats its own share.<sup>3</sup> They cook *mesokoana*, because only *mesokoana* is eaten there, they don't eat *ting*, because they are only men.

<sup>1</sup>The customs described below as observed at the inauguration of a new "regiment" are those prevailing at the present time. The last regiment to pass through the original *bogoera* (circumcision) ceremony was the *Makuka*, c. 1901, although its leader, Kgafela, the eldest son of the late chief Lentsoe, was kept back at school by his father, who had recently become converted to Christianity. The next regiment, *Machichele*, and all its successors passed through a considerably modified ceremony along the lines of that described here.

<sup>2</sup>*Go panoa . . . dikotsekara*, "Scotch carts are inspanned"; both the verb and the noun are corruptions of the English and Dutch words.

<sup>3</sup>At all communal meals, e.g. when an ox has been slaughtered by the chief for the men at the *kgotla*, the men of each *kgoro* eat together and apart from those of other *kgoros*. So too when beer is distributed to the men at a wedding feast, each *kgoro* is served in turn.

Every day early in the morning the boys are sent (down to the river) to wash themselves in the cold water. The time when they are sent to the regiment is in winter, so that when they are men they must not be afraid of the cold, they must be really men in the cold. They get up early every day in the morning to go and wash in the cold water, and when they return they are not allowed to sit near the fire, but go to gather wood ; on coming back, they go to the river (for water) with small tins and calabashes. When they go out hunting, every boy takes with him his gun, a calabash of water, his blanket, a small bag of bullets, a knife and sandals. As they run, if one of them is seen lagging behind they hit him with a stick, and if a boy is very cheeky,<sup>4</sup> he is severely thrashed ; again when they sing and a boy is seen not singing he is beaten. They are made to run very fast indeed (when hunting), so that a boy who is weak will get sick ; last year<sup>5</sup> many of the boys fell sick, because when hunting they ran too strenuously in surrounding the animals so as to kill them. They are beaten like this so that they must know they are really men, they must cast aside the garb of *magoane*.

While they are out in the veld in this way, they are not yet told their name until they come back (home). When they return home from the veld, they are first gathered to lie down and be beaten in this way : each regiment thrashes the one coming after it, until the boys are given their name ; and after they have been thrashed, they scatter to their shelters. At sunset the cry is raised for them to assemble, and when they have come together they are lined up according to their seniority in the tribe, first their chief, then the one who comes next after him (and so on).<sup>6</sup> They keep on singing the songs of the tribe which are sung only by men. The men are told that they are about to go home, but the boys are not told anything about going home, they simply hear it said that they are going to move. Then they scatter again and go to their shelters. The boys go for water and wood, while their elder brothers cook. On that day all their "doeks," bracelets, earrings and other ornaments pertaining

<sup>4</sup>*Bochiki*, corrupted from the English "cheek."

<sup>5</sup>i.e., 1928, when the *Machama* regiment, to which my informant belongs, was given its name.

<sup>6</sup>First the different *kgoros* are lined up in order of seniority, one behind the other, and then the boys in each *kgoro* are ranged according to the status of their fathers within the *kgoro*. The same order of ranking was formerly observed in connection with the original *bogoera*, the rite of eating the first fruits, and the taking of new fire from the chief's *kgotla* at the foundation of a new stad or in certain other cases.

to *magoane* are taken from them, and their bags are to be emptied. After they have eaten they sing all the night, any boy who does not sing being whipped.

Now in the middle of the night they start to go home, they go so as to enter the stad when it is all quiet ; they pass down to the kloof ;<sup>7</sup> when they enter the stad they go in dead silence ; anybody heard talking is punished ; at the kloof they make fires and sleep. At sunrise when they awake they are lined up in front of the chief and the other men, they sit apart facing the chief, they sing a song or two and then keep quiet. Now they are told that their regimental name is so-and-so, and afterwards they are divided ; those of baKgosing take the lead, then follow baMabudisa and the others.

When they enter the kgotla they sit down on the ground, and when they are marching like this they are hidden in the midst (of the men) so that the women may not see them before they reach the kgotla. Now when they enter the kgotla the men stand aside so that all the people who wish to see the boys of the regiment should have a good view. On arriving at the kgotla, the old men greet them with their mouths, not with the hands. Now their leader is taken out to be shown to his followers ; and then they are scattered, but before they scatter each kgoro has to take with it its own boys (in the regiment) and they are sent home to their own kgotlas. The chief remains (in the kgotla) killing an ox for them. In the afternoon they assemble again in the kgotla to eat the meat, and they are also told that they are now men and must know to pay their hut-tax.<sup>8</sup> When they break up in the afternoon in the kgotla each kgoro as it goes sings, they shoot their guns, they play about with them, and the new men are also taught how to play with their guns. At the kloof, to let people know that the regiment has arrived, many guns are fired, the chief and the men all shooting off their guns.

### GO DISA DIPODI.

(MOLEFI MOLEFI.)

Ka gale basimanyana ba banye ba disa dipodi le dinku gore di seka tsa timela. Ba tsamaea le tsona go eo fula, mme ere mantsiboea ba ea di gorosa. Mme eare pele ba di game, mme eare ba seno go di gama ba nte dipotsane di anye. Dipodi di bolla motshegare ea tle

<sup>7</sup>This kloof is just behind the mission station at Mochudi, and is one of the places where a *pitsa* (full tribal gathering of the men) may be held.

<sup>8</sup>*Go patela opogafa*, from the Dutch "betaal," to pay, and "opgaaf," tribute. The translation "hut-tax" is really incorrect, as in practice the tax, 25s. per annum, is paid by all adult male members of the tribe (i.e. by all those belonging to a regiment) and is thus actually a poll-tax.

re ka bosigo ge di bolla basimanyana ba tsole magobe ka malekane mme ere ge ba fitlha koa nageng ba gamelle mo teng ba futsoele magobe janong ba je. Basimane ba bangoe ba tle ba robale ba lese dipodi di timele, ka gongoe ba ne ba tshanoka. Ntago o tla mmotsa a re dipodi di timetse ko kae ? Mosimane o tla a re di timetse koa ke di disitse, janong monna o mongoe a be a re o a mpetsa, ka be ke tshaba, mme erile ke boa ka sekakadi bona, ka be ke di lata ka motlhala, mme motlhala oa tsona oa timetsoa ke oa mabodi a manye, ke ka moo ke sa di bonang.

Fagongoe dipodi di a tle di tsamaea di e koa kgakala, mme ge diphiri di ka di bona di a tle di di bolae, di di je, mme ge dipodi di na di dipotsane diphokoby di a tle di leke go di ja. Erile ka ngoaga oa 1927 dimpya tsa be di bolaea dipodi le dinku, mme dimpya tsa be di nna mo mantsoeng ; ge dipodi di fula gaufe le lentsoe, dimpya tse di tsoe di kobe dipodi di di bolae di di je. Morena a be a laetsa banna gore dimpya tseo di bolaioe, le tse di mo motseng. Banna ba di bolaea thata, batho ba bangoe ba thabisatsona go di isa morakeng, ba bangoe ba di baea mo matlung, gore banna ba sekabadi bolaea.

Dipodi bogologolo di alafiloe ke dingaka gore basadi ba sekabadi ralla, ka gonnesosadi ge a ka senya mme a ralla dipodi kampo dikgomo ge e le gore di a dusa di tlide go folotsa ; janong molao oa re basadi ba sekabadi ralla dipodi go simolla ka makgarebe a nang le dingoaga di le lesome le lemetso e ferang menoana e le mebedi go ea koa godimo.

Dinku thata thata ke phologolo e e gobang thata ; ge o ka huma dinku di le dintsi thata, e le tse di ka fitlheng fa lekgolong, e tla re ka motlha mongoe tsa timela tsa ea le naga gore o sekao ba oa tle o di bona. Mme koo di tla jeoa ke diphiri. Batho fagongoe ba tla di batla ngoaga otlheng ba tla ba ea koa dingakeng gore di laoloko di ileng teng. Mme e tla tshela ditaola tsa gagoe. Fagongoe o tla ba raea a re di teng, dia fula mo nageng, u tla di bona ge u di batla, a be a go shupetse ntlheng e di leng teng, ge u ea koa teng, u be u di bone. Fagongoe ba go ree ba re ga di eo, di jeloe ke dibatana tsa naga, mme e le nete sa ba se bolelang.

Mo selemong dinku le dipodi ga di nke di noa metsi, di fula setlhatsana se se bidioang kgophane ; setlhare se se na le matute a matona a a ka kgalolosang podi kampo nku. Batho ba bantsho ba di tloaedite gore ge metsi a le kgakala di sekakadi tsa tsamaea thata, le ge di ka sekakadi tsa a noa metsi, ga di ka ke tsa ota, di tla nne di akotse fela.

(Translation.)

## HERDING GOATS.

Usually young boys herd goats and sheep in order that they should not stray away. They go with them when they go for grazing, and in the evening they bring them home. Then they first milk them, and when they have finished milking they let the kids come and drink. The goats go out to pasture late in the morning, and the boys (who go with them) take porridge in small tins with them; when they arrive in the veld they milk into the tins and eat the mixture of milk and porridge. Some boys will sleep, or sometimes play, and thus allow the goats to stray away. When his father asks him where the goats have strayed, the boy will reply: "While I was herding the goats a man wanted to beat me, so that I ran away, and when I came back I could not see them, I followed their spoor, but it was lost in the spoors of many other goats, so that I could not find them."

Sometimes goats will go grazing far away, and if the hyenas see them they will kill and eat them, while if the goats are kids the jackals will try to eat them. In 1927 wild dogs living in the koppies killed many goats and sheep; whenever the goats grazed near a koppie, the dogs would rush out to kill and eat them. The chief ordered the men (of certain regiments) to kill those dogs, as well as those in the stad.<sup>1</sup> They killed many, but some men took their dogs out to their cattle-posts, while others hid them in their huts so that they should not be killed.

In olden times goats were doctored by the native doctors to prevent women from walking through them (i.e. through the flock, because when a woman is unwell (i.e. menstruating) and goes through goats or cattle in calf the animals will abort; therefore, native law says that women, from the age of eighteen upwards, may not pass through a flock of goats.<sup>2</sup>

A sheep is an animal very given to wandering; if a man has very many sheep, say about a hundred, one day they will stray away into the veld and perhaps never be seen again. And there they will be eaten by the hyenas. The owners may search for them for about a year, and then go to the native doctors to find out by divination where they have gone. The doctor will cast his "bones." Sometimes he tells the owner that the sheep are alive, they are grazing

<sup>1</sup>Because they were suspected of taking part in the destruction of the goats. Since dogs are often valued for their use in hunting, the attempts to preserve them are easily understood.

<sup>2</sup>This custom is still carried out to some extent, although by no means rigidly.

about somewhere in the veld, "you will see them if you look for them," and he may point out the direction where they are; when the owner goes there, he will find them. Sometimes again they tell you that the sheep are not alive, they have been eaten by the wild beasts of the veld; and it is often true what they are saying.

In summer sheep and goats do not drink water, but eat a small kind of bush called *kgophane*, which has sufficient juice to quench the thirst of a goat or a sheep. Native people have taught their sheep not to stray away when the water is too far, and although they may not drink water they will not perish but will remain fat.

### GO DISA DIKGOMO.

(MOLEFI MOLEFI.)

Dikgomo di disioa ke banna kampo basimane; ba di fulusa mogae go di isa koa kgakāla mo nageng go eo nna teng, le go dira moraka koo, gore di bone mafuto a siameng. Di tla nna koo dingoaga di le dintsi, mme ga di nne bo nno bo le bongoe. Ge byang bo tlhokofala le metsi dia fuduga di ea koa goleng metsi le byang, koo di tla nna teng ka sebaka. Fagongoe ge go ka fela byang pele, metsi a ise a fele, ba ka ea koa goleng byang teng metsi a na a le kgakala e le bokgakala bo bo ka nnang dimaele di le supa kampo di le tlhano.

Mme earé mo selemong banna ba epa dñliba go nosa dikgomō tsa bona mo teng; banna fagongoe ba kopana ba le bane gore ba thusane go toromola metsi. Mo letlhafuleng dikgomo ga di tsoenyé ka gonne goa be go le metsi le byang; dikgomo letlhafula dia itisa di be di ikgorose. E bile dia sisa di ntsha mafshi thata; ba themisa mafshi ka makuka a matona ba je, mme ge mongoe a tsena fa morakeng a batla dikgomo ba mo tabolela madila kampo mafshi. Mme ge a ka seká a fitlhela ope, ge a bona dijo a ka a ja jaka à ka kgona, mme ge batho ba moraka ba mo fitlhela ga ba ka ke ba re sepe. Madila o na ga ba nke ba rata ka gonne fagongoe ea be e se a bona ea be e le a ba batona, gore ona madila a a eo go thusa batho koa masimong, e leng basadi ge ba tlhagola ba laletsa basadi ba bangce ba ba a tlhokang; ba tlhagole akere janong a ba fe ka dipitsana, ba roalle koa mekgorong ea bona. Janong ge e le mosimane eo o sa tsoenyeng o tla nne a dire jalo go fitlhela mmagoe a be a fetsa, mme ge e le mosiamame eo o sa utloang o tla a senya a fa mongoe le mongoe eo o tlang fa morakeng oabo a sa utloelle dittaello tsa bagolo ba gagoe.

Koa merakeng basimane ba ikagela mekgoro ea bona e menyenyane ba e bitsa megoaafatshe. Ge monna a se na ngoana oa tle a

bua le monna eo a nang le bana ba basimane gore ba tlhakanye dikgomo tsa bona, gore a nne a bona sebaka sa go lema le go ea koa gae go eo ikhutsa, janong di sale di disioa ke bana ba monna eo a nang le bana ; mme ga a nke a ba patela—ge a rata a ka ba rekela dikobo mariga, ke eona patela ea basimane.

Go na le naga engoe koa go leng byang bo bo bolaearg dikgomo ; byang bo bo bidioa mogau. Basimane ba tla di tlhokomela thata gore di seka tsa bo ja ; ge di ka bo ja ntatagoe o tla mo otla. Mme bogolo botona byang bo bo tletse thata koa Odi, bo tlhoga selemo ; ge pula e ka na thata ga bo nke bo bolaearg dikgomo, gonue pula ea be e bo tlthatsoetse chefi ea bona. Ge dikgomo di sa bolo go nna koa teng, di a tle di o itse di seke di tle di o je. Ge kgomo e ka re e seno go o ja ea noa metsi e soa ka pele.

Janong batho ba tscalal dikgomo mo ditseebeng, mme kgoro engoe le engoe e tsoala letsoao la eona ; ba bangoe ba tsoala lephaga, ba bangoe sekete le sekei, ba bangoe letsekana, ba bangoe phufang, lephaga le sekei, ba bangoe sekoto le monoto go ea fela jalo. Kajeno batho ba bangoe ba tsoala ka tshipi mo seropeng sa mya kampo sa molema. Batho fagongoe ba a tle ba seke dikgomo le ba bangoe, ere ge kgomo ea gagoe e ka timela e le nye, ba fete ba e tsoae letsoao le bona. Ge ba e seka ba batla basupi, le bo'mma a eo gore ba bone ge ba tshoana le eona. Ba bangoe ba tla tlisa bo'mma eona tota, ba bangoe ba tlise se o seng bo'monna eona. Janong motho eo a tlisitseng bo'mma eona o tla e tsaea, janong monna eo a reng ke ea gagoe mme a a ka a bile a e tsoaile o tla patela ge a e tsoaile letsoao la gagoe ka kgomo.

(Translation.)

### HERDING CATTLE.

Cattle are herded by men or big boys ; they take them away from home far into the veld to remain there, and they build a cattle-post there to provide them with good pastures. They will remain there for many years, and they do not always stay at one place ; if grass and water are scarce, they remove to a place where there are both, and there they remain for a while. Sometimes, if the grass has already dried up and the water is beginning to grow scarce they go to a place where there is good grass, although the water may be about seven or five miles away.<sup>1</sup>

And in the summer the men often dig pits from which to draw water for their cattle ; sometimes a few men come together and

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<sup>1</sup>dimaele, "miles," corruption of the English word.

decide to help one another in obtaining water.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn cattle do not give much trouble, for there is enough grass and water ; at this time they are usually left to graze alone in the pastures and return of their own accord. They give much milk at this season of the year ; and the boys at the cattle-post fill up big milk-sacks with the milk and eat it (when it has thickened), and if anybody comes to the cattle-post looking for stray cattle they give him thick milk or fresh milk. If he finds nobody there, and he sees food he can eat as much of it as he is able to, and the people of the cattle-post when they (come back and) find him will say nothing. But if he drinks thick milk they may not like it, because sometimes it is not theirs, it has been prepared for their elders, to help the people in the fields, for the women when they are weeding will invite other women to come and help them by weeding for milk ; they weed an acre<sup>3</sup> and are then given a small pot full of thick milk, which they take home with them. A good boy will go on preparing thick milk for his mother until she has finished (weeding her fields) but a disobedient boy will give the milk to other boys who come to his cattle-post, and not act according to the orders of his parents.

At the cattle-posts the boys build for themselves small huts called *megoafatshe*. If a man has no son he will speak to a man with a number of sons about keeping their cattle together at the same post, so that the boy may remain looking after them during the ploughing season or at other times when the man wishes to go home to rest ; and he does not pay the boys, but if he likes he may buy them a blanket in winter, that is their payment.

There is one part of the country where there is a grass called *mogau* which is fatal to cattle. The boys have to take great care that the cattle do not eat this grass, otherwise their father will beat them. This grass grows especially abundantly along the Odi (i.e. Crocodile) River, it grows in summer ; if the rain is abundant, the grass will not harm cattle, for the rain washes away its poison.<sup>4</sup> If the cattle have already been at the river for a long time they come to know this grass and to avoid it. Any cattle drinking water after having eaten of it die very quickly.

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<sup>2</sup>*Go toromola metsi*, “to roll along water in drums,” from the Dutch “trommel,” barrel or drum. The BaKgatla use large petrol drums for conveying water from one place to the other.

<sup>3</sup>*Akere*, from the Dutch “aker” (acre), is used as the name for a measure of length, and is applied to any strip of land from sixteen to twenty-four paces in width, irrespective of the length.

<sup>4</sup>*Chefi*, i.e. *gefi*, poison, from the Dutch “gif.”

People cut the ears of their cattle, and every *kgoro* has its own earmark ; some use the mark called *lephaga*, others *sekete le sekei*, others *letsekana*, others *phufang*, *lephaga le sekei*, others *sekoto le monoio* and so on.<sup>5</sup> Nowadays many people use the iron for branding on the thigh of the beast, either on the right-hand side or on the left. People often go to law with others about cattle ; if, for instance, a man's animal strayed away while still small, others find it and put their own mark on it. Then when they dispute about it, they look for witnesses and must also bring other cattle of the same stock to see if they are similar in appearance to this animal. The one party will bring the true relatives of the cow, the other will bring animals which are of different breed ; now the man bringing its true relatives will be given it, while the man who tried to claim it and put his mark on it will pay (a cow) for putting his mark on it.

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<sup>5</sup>The principal ear-marks of the *dikgoro* are as follows :—baKgosing, *lephaga*, i.e. a straight slit through the tip of the right ear only ; baMorema, *letsekana*, i.e. a longitudinal strip cut in the tip of the left ear and allowed to hang as a flap ; baMabudisa, *sekoto le pallana*, i.e. the tip of the left ear is cut off square, and a small hole made in the centre of the ear ; baTshukudu, *motlalakama*, i.e. U-slits in the tips of both ears ; Manamakgothe, *motlalakama le sekei*, i.e., U-slit in the tip of one ear and U-slit in the side of the other. The other marks mentioned above I unfortunately neglected to identify. In addition to these main types of ear-mark, every owner of cattle may have his individual mark, produced by various modifications of the type mark of his *kgoro*. Every owner also has his own brand.

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## SUNDRY NOTES ON THE VANDAU OF SOFALA, P.E.A.\*

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By E. DORA EARTHY.

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### ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

The name Vandau, sometimes called Vandzau in Gazaland, and sometimes Vandawe (Melsetter district), is usually taken to mean "Those who greet," from the habit of the Vandau to be punctilious in the matter of greeting (Ndau=Hail!) This derivation of the name has not been proven as a fact.

### DISTRIBUTION.

In the preface to the Chindau Dictionary we find this paragraph :— "The Ndau dialect, in particular, is confined to the tribes living about the head waters of the Buzi and its tributaries, the streams running west to the Sabi, and along both banks of that river. But it is so closely allied to the other dialects of the country that anyone knowing the Chindau can easily come to understand any of the tribes in the eastern part of Southern Rhodesia and in the Portuguese territory directly opposite, comprising a population of at least two hundred thousand."\*

The country of the Vandau is pre-eminently "Vusapa," the district between the Sabi River and Beira, extending inland to the Chimanimani Mountains, which divide a part of Portuguese East Africa from Southern Rhodesia.

They are numerically strong at Mount Silinda and Melsetter, Southern Rhodesia, but the greater number live in Portuguese territory. There are also many isolated sibs in Gazaland, south of Inhambane, especially in the Bilene district. They came as captives in the train of the Vanguni chiefs.

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\**Chindau-English and English-Chindau Vocabulary* (compiled and published by the Rhodesian Branch of the American Board Mission in South Africa), 1915, p. 4.

The following Vandau sibs have descendants in Gazaland :—

Tivane, Ngibi, Simangu, Mbiza, Nkomu, Nkhuti, Lisiva, Kayeyu, Livemba, Nkwinya, T/uma, Susu Susu (Wazezuru ?), Nkalale, Sambu, Ngonyama, Mzimba, NJameni (Zulu ?), Sitoyi.

All the people with these names are counted as Vandau by the Shangaans of Gazaland, who apply this tribal name rather loosely. There are also some Vandau who, either of their own accord, or because they have been forced to do so by the Vanguni, have changed their own sib name to a Zulu one.

A Mundau of Gazaland told me that the VaTeve, the VaGova, the VaDuma, the VaVenda, the VaSena, the VaHode, and the VaTom-botse, were descended from the same original stock as the Vandau.

An informant at Mount Silinda listed the VaDanda, the VaBwanye, the VaBudzi, the VaSofala, the VaMbombo and the VaMukopi, the VaNagunye, the VaGezanye and the MaNgundi, as being all of Vandau stock.

According to a classification given me in Gazaland, the VaDanda include the MaDendera, the MaDuma, and the MaSayayi, and some of the MaSwina.

The Rev. A. Orner, of the American Board Mission, Mount Silinda, in a letter dated October 22nd, 1925, gives a list of sibs living in the neighbourhood as being those of the Simangu (not many members) ; Nkomo (very common) ; Sigauke (not many) ; Sitoli or Sitoyi (quite common). Mr. Orner adds : "Other names in use here, some obviously of Zulu origin though, are : Muyambo, Sino, Hlatwayo, Mtetwa and Ndhlondhlo."

To these must be added the Muhlangu sib mentioned by Mr. Myers. (See below.)

The Vandau of Gazaland live in the neighbourhood of pot-clay ; the women being noted for their hand-made pottery. Hence many Vandau sibs are to be found in the Khambana district of Gazaland, especially at Bungana, Mbangu, Xegwe, Malahisi, Shilumbelo, Nguzeni.

#### TOTEMISM OF THE VANDAU.

Accidentally, in the course of a talk with a Chopi woman who had spent her childhood among Vandau people, I learned some facts about their totemism, which seemed to need further investigation. I happened to use the word *mutupo* when I ought to have said

*fibongo*. The Chopi woman caught me up sharply : "The *mutupo* is a *mutupo*, and the *fibongo* is a *fibongo*," she said, with an emphasis which said very plainly, Do not confuse these terms and their meaning. "The *mutupo* of the Vandau is a tree," she went on. This remark surprised me, for I did not remember having seen the mention of a tree among the list of Vandau totems given by Mr. Bullock. When asked what kind of a tree, she said that it did not grow in our district, but that it was supposed to shed its leaves in the morning and regain them at sundown, which fact had struck the Vandau as being extraordinary. (Possibly it is some tree which folds its leaves during the heat of the day.) My informant then proceeded to explain (voluntarily) the *mutupo* tree. The roots of this tree were eaten by the first man and the first woman of the Vandau tribe, and after that the *mutupo* lived in these people, could never die, and is handed on from father to son for ever.

Therefore, when a Mundau is killed, it is his *mutupo* which is outraged, and seeks vengeance by killing off all the family to whom the murderer belongs. When I ventured to say that it is the *sikwembu* of the murdered Mundau which kills the murderer and his family (according to the Shangaans), the Chopi woman replied very emphatically : "No, it is the *mutupo* of the *sikwembu* which kills the murderer." I made a mental note of the fact that the *sikwembu* can possess a *mutupo*, or, rather, that the *mutupo* lives on in the *sikwembu*.

Knowing the Vandau to possess sib tokens, I wondered if the tree could be a tribal totem, because, failing a tribal totem, there must be some sib totem which is a tree ; and this sib has not been recorded, as far as I know.

On making enquiries at Sofala about a tree tribal totem, the natives there, although willing generally (with some exceptions among the women) to tell me what their mutupos (*mitupo*) were, did not seem to know a tree *mutupo*, though I had a distinct impression in the case of two informants that they were trying to parry my questions. One youth, indeed, said there was a tree *mutupo*, and when I asked him to show me the tree, he went away and presently brought back some branches of an interesting tree.\*

When I showed these branches to another native, he said this tree was not a *mutupo*, but "a very great medicine."

\*I have sent this specimen to the Government Botanist at Pretoria for identification, together with other plants collected at Sofala.

Neither did the natives at Melsetter appear to know anything about a tree totem.

There is a possibility that there may be one in the Sabi River district, between Sofala and Vilanculos, for the Chopi woman, at various times after the conversation recorded, has given me this additional information. On one occasion, after a visit to a native Shangaan doctor living in the Vandau settlement at Xegwe, when she was not well, she came back with this story, which the doctor had told her :—"A Mundau man and woman went with a white cloth and maize-flour to a lake where there was a very big tree called *mbvuko*. They prayed to the spirits of the lake, and the leaves of the tree fell on the white cloth. The man and woman went home and cooked the leaves, mixed them with the mealie meal porridge, and ate them.

"Now there was once a Mundau who refused to submit to Muzila and Muwewe (Vanguni conquerors). This Mundau was a descendant of a very great chief called Mafaringani, who lived in Vusapa, and whose *mutupo* was the *mbvuko* tree. Mafaringani lived very long ago, and he built an enormous house" (words failed my informant when she tried to impress upon me the immense size of the house). "There he lived, and ruled the wild animals of the bush, of which some of each kind were brought into his kraal that he might 'fuya' them" (*ku fuya*=to possess in the sense of to rule). "There were lions, leopards, hyænas, etc. Mafaringani's wives prepared food for these animals. Now when Mafaringani was hungry, he sent the animals which he ruled out into the bush to hunt for him and they brought back game for him to eat. This game was handed over to 'real people' to be prepared for cooking. But the animals cried out if they were not given some of it for themselves. Mafaringani did not 'rule' the crocodile, and small creatures like jackals, but chiefly lions and leopards which were capable of hunting for him, especially lions. That is why all the Vandau offer a sacrifice of the first fruits, maize, etc., to lions and the other animals belonging to Mafaringani. If the sacrifice should be omitted, the animals would come out of the bush and cry out; and if some of the first fruits should be given to a child before the offering was made to the lions, then the child would die."

The son of an old Mundau woman, Jameya Nkomu, who lives on our Mission Station, tells me that his mother had told him that her father used to offer a very great sacrifice to lions. A little hut was built in the bush, and in it were placed votive offerings of beer, maize,

fowls and perhaps a goat. The whole family carried out these offerings to the hut, in procession, and the head of the family made a long address to lions, because (my informant was emphatic on this point) the lions were the *sikwembu* of the Vandau.

To return to the story of Mafaringani's descendant who defied the Vanguni chiefs. He is supposed to be alive at the present day, under an unknown form. At first he changed himself into a snake, and then into a tree, and then into sand, and then into ashes, and then into a woman, and so the Vanguni never found him.

A Mundau of the *fibongo* of Sitoye gave me the following account of the tree *mutupo* :—" The *mutupo* is a tree called *mpfuko* in VuSapa. It is said to lose its leaves in the morning and to regain them at sunset. Therefore all Vandau children have incisions made in their arms of the soot of the roots mixed with medicine. Some make incisions just below the neck—both boys and girls. If one dies, the relations say : ' We do not know if your enemies killed you, or if you died a natural death, but if an enemy killed you, by this medicine the *mutupo* will kill all your enemies one after the other.' " Comparing this account with others, it seems that the medicine gives the *mutupo* the power of resurrection (*ku pfukela*). But although many informants confirmed this statement, it will be seen that there is some confusion of idea between the *mutupo* which is the tree and the same *mutupo* when it has become the spiritual and undying part of the disembodied spirit which seeks to kill its enemies.

An assegai is buried with the dead Mundau in order to help him to kill his enemies. If the assegai is found in his own chest, that is because it will set his *mutupo* free to carry out the work of vengeance. So some say. Others say that the dead person is made to clasp a sharpened knife in order to kill his enemies who have first killed him.

If some family thinks that the *mutupo* of a murdered person is trying to carry out its work of vengeance, then there are many ways of attempting to appease the *mutupo*.\*

If all other means of propitiation failed, a young girl was dedicated to the *mutupo*, so that it might enter the young girl and dwell there. A little hut or " temple " was built for the girl (really for the *mutupo*) and various votive offerings, such as beer, clothes, etc., were made. The girl was not supposed to marry, but if she did so the husband would live in her kraal ; she would not go to live with his people (a

\*The phenomena of " possession " by Vandau *sikwembu* have been described in my paper on the VaLenge.

reversal of the usual order). Failing a girl to dedicate to the *mutupo*, a boy was sometimes set apart ; but in that case he was only a stop-gap, for he must marry and have a daughter in whom the *mutupo* might dwell.

These dedicated girls can be distinguished at a glance in Gazaland. Their hair is dressed with red ochre, or they wear a kind of wig covered with it ; and on one ankle they wear a heavy brass " *sindza* " anklet, with which they are invested by a doctor of the Vandau *šikwembu*.

If the tree, the branches of which were shown me at Sofala, is really the " *mpfuka* " medicine, it had a different name there. It was called *tondo*.

#### MITUPO OF SOFALA.

When investigating the *mitupo* of Sofala, I found the following sibs represented. There are probably others, but these are the chief. In some cases alternative names were given me for the *mitupo*. The people at Sofala did not seem to know the term " *chidawo*," but they used the word " *sibongo* " instead, like the Shangaans.

Mr. Bullock, in " The Mashona," groups the totems thus :— The " Pool " Group, the Cat Group, the Eland Group, the Elephant Group, the Monkey Group, the Zebra Group, the Buffalo Group, the Heart Group, the Bird Group, " Miscellaneous " totems.

#### THE CATTLE-KRAL GROUP.

A great many Vandau belong to what I should like to call " The Cattle-Kraal Group," as a Mundau of the *sibongo šitoyi* suggested it to me. He did not, of course, know anything about Mr. Bullock's groups ; but he said there was a certain number of surnames, all connected with the cattle-kraal. They were related to each other, and could all be called " kraal " people, with the (Zulu ?) appellation of " milch-cow " (Semwayo or Sengwayo) ; and the general *sibongo* of Kundlandi (kraal). Some of them belong to the Nkomu sib, and some to the Sitoyi, and some to the Magumbu, but they are all of the same origin. Another *sibongo* of this group is Mboga Vudaka (kraal mud).

The Nkomu sib is numerically strong at Sofala. One of its members told me that he would never think of killing his *mutupo* animal, because it is " one with them " ; that it would be like killing himself or a relation, if he were to do so. The Nkomu people in Gazaland are not so squeamish as regards the killing. They taboo the heart and

liver and entrails of the ox as food, but above all, the blood of the animal.\* If they have a piece of beef, they will wash it very carefully so that not a speck of blood remains. Jameya Nkomu's relations told me that she had lost all her teeth because the Vanguni had given her *uvenzi* (cooked blood) to eat, when she was a little captive girl among them.

The calf appears to be the *mutupo* of the Sitoyi branch of the "Cattle-Kraal" Group.

The Magumbu taboo the hoofs and (apparently) the skins of cattle, according to information given me in Gazaland (south of Inhambane). At Sofala I was told that the Magumbu taboo the legs of all animals. Mr. Bullock gives the "Gumbo" as one of the "clue" totems (Wakaranga). (*Op. cit.* p. 96.)

Superficially judging, the "Cattle-Kraal Group" would appear to be of Zulu origin, and perhaps some of them are, but they themselves claim most emphatically to be true Vandau. The Portuguese Commandant of Sofala, who has worked among the Vandau for thirty-five years, says there is no longer any such thing as an unmixed tribe among the Bantu. One has also to remember (1) that the Vandau have sometimes Zulu-ised their totems (*v. Bullock*), and (2) that the Vanguni conquerors of the Vandau have sometimes forced the conquered sibs to change their sib names. An educated Mundau of the Sitoyi sib in Gazaland, told me that some people of the surname of Mandlazi, which appears to be a Zulu name, are really of Vandau origin, and their original sib name was Nyoni (a bird). This is not to say that all the Mandlazi are of Vandau origin. But several Vandau families in Gazaland have either been forced to change their name, or have done so because they found it convenient.

The Vandau sibs Nqibi, Ndimi and Tivane are said to have had a change of surname, though I have been unable to find out their original names.

Many of the Vandau at Melsetter, Southern Rhodesia, with the sib name Nkomu or Sitoyi, give *ngombe* (cattle) as their *mutupo*. Mr. Bullock separates the Nkomu sib from the Sitoyi, giving "Nkomu"

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\*A youth of the Nkomu sib told me that he would not take milk, as it would be like "eating his own body" if he did so. He would, however, not have any objection to performing the act of milking for others of a different sib. This boy gave me his full name as Muzulava Nguqa Zavazava Mukwu T'amela Auka Mandlwane Thlanganiso Zavona Mutiwankosi Phaqwezu *Sitoyi Kundlandi Vutuyi Semwayo Mboga-Vudaka Nkomu*. Nguqa was his father's name, and Zavazava his grandfather's, and so on, thus making eleven generations before the *sibongo* proper is reached. *Vutuyi* is part of the *sibongo* representing the dust which the cattle kick up on their way to water.

as a *chidawo* of the Mwoyo or Heart Group (*op. cit.* p. 108), and "Sengwayo" as the *chidawo* of the Sitole sib, under "Miscellaneous Totems" (p. 112). But the Nkomu and Sitoyi people of Gazaland assert that they "are all the same people."\* Mr. Bullock classes these sibs as belonging to the BaRozwi. This helps to substantiate the claim of the Vandau themselves that they are (mostly) BaRozwi.

#### THE "POOL" GROUP.

The only "Pool" Group sib which I found at Sofala was the Tivane (VaTeve?). Their *mutupo* is the *ntini* (otter). (The otter is also said to be a *mutupo* of the Muyambo sib, Melsetter.)

#### "MISCELLANEOUS" TOTEMS.

The Ngundane sib (*mutupo=mbeva*, mouse) was also found at Sofala. These people may be of WaRemba origin. (*Cf.* Bullock, *op. cit.* p. 115, No. 34.)

The Sabeka sib, with its totem *shato* (the python) has representatives at Sofala. Mr. Bullock classes this sib as belonging to the WaManyika (*op. cit.* p. 112, No. 8).

The Sibindi sib, which has as its totem the "liver" of all animals, was also represented among the Vandau of Sofala. But these people, together with the Muyana and Ngangwena sibs were numerically unimportant. A species of sheep, so I was told at Sofala, is the totem of the Muyana. The Chopi woman, when I asked her if she knew the Muyana, said it must be the Mwoyana, and that they were true Vandau. She agreed that a sheep was their totem, because these people said, "We follow the wind like sheep."

The Ngwena or NgaNgwena (totem, crocodile) might be of Bakwena origin; and that would account for the fact that Mafaringani did not "fuya" crocodiles. The Portuguese Commandant at Sofala did not recognise the Sibindi, Mwoyana and Ngwena sibs as living in his domain, but the people told me there were some members of these sibs. The Sibindi people are numerous in South Gazaland.

The Sigauke sib is also represented in Sofala. Its totem is the *mbumpi* or *ketfana* (wild dog or jackal). (*Cf.* Bullock, *op. cit.* p. 115, No. 38, who lists this among the Shangaan sibs.)

This sib must not be confused with that of the Tshauke, which is of VaHlengwe origin.

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\*There is however no reason why the Cattle-Kraal group should not be considered as part of the larger or "heart" group.

The Simangu sib (notably of Vahdau origin) is represented by a few individuals at Sofala. The members of this sib would appear to be more numerous a little further south. Their totem is (I think) an ape, but they seem to taboo also the fruits of a certain tree, which are called by the same name.

#### THE "ZEBRA" GROUP.

At Sofala I found a Muhlangu sib, which has the *duva* (zebra) as totem. This sib seems to be numerically strong at Mount Selinda; and there also seem to be some members of it in the Melsetter district. Mr. John Myers wrote me from Mount Silinda last year: "All the clans hereabouts are totemistic, but I cannot ascertain if they have a tribal totem. The zebra is the totem of the local chief, as it is with numerous commoners who all use it as their family name either as Mhlanga or Dube. It is their *mutupo* (forbidden to eat it, etc.). The family which have such an animal as a domestic beast for their totem will eat all except the heart." (Extract from letter).

The Muhlangu sib is known in South Gazaland as Duva-Muhlangu, so the Chopi woman informs me.

There are evidently other sibs with the name of Muhlanga, which, so I am told, by a Mundau, is of Zulu origin. (*Cf.* Bullock, *op. cit.* p. 97, No. 14.)

To sum up the sibs of Sofala :—

1. Nkomu ...	... Tabu : Heart, entrails and blood of oxen.
2. Sitoyi ...	... Heart, entrails and blood of calves.
3. Magumbu...	... Legs of all animals.
4. Sabeka ...	... Python.
5. Tivane ...	... Otter.
6. Ngundane ...	... Mouse.
7. Muhlanga ...	... Zebra (liver and entrails).
8. Maxava ...	... Buffalo (?) (legs only).
9. Sibindi ...	... Liver of all animals.
10. Ngwena ...	... Crocodile.
11. Moyana ...	... Species of sheep.
12. Sigauke ...	... Wild dog.
13. Simangu ...	... Monkey (probably ape).

At Sofala, the children belong to the *mutupo* of their father. A woman who is about to give birth to a child will fear to eat her husband's totem—the child's teeth will be "rotten," if she does. At other times she does not seem to mind eating what is tabu to her husband; but she keeps her own totem tabu very strictly.

## ANCIENT TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF SOFALA.

The Portuguese Commandant at Sofala very kindly gave me this list. The spelling of the names is Portuguese. The native name of Sofala is Buane (Portuguese spelling), but the natives pronounce the name as if it were Bwanye.

*Relação de Regulos da Circonscrição.*

## Antigas Terras.

Manica	Chefe	Dava	Regulo
Chiconjo	"	Matongua	"
Chinga	"	Metonguache	"
Bue	"	Mechungue	"
Danga	"	Panja	"
Maôboe	"	Nhaliecombe	"
Inhangoro	Regulo	Cubimbe	"
Chengue	"	Mechwe	"
Ampara	"	Hode	"
Garabga	"	Merigue	"
Buene	"	Barira	"
Mechubua	"	Nyaboa	"
Guenge	"	Denge	"
Chitombue	"	Nhangó	"

## RELATIONSHIP TERMS.

Herr Boas (*Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, Vol. 54, 1922, pp. 41-51) gives a list of terms of relationship in use among the Vandau. So does M. Junod (*The Life of a South African Tribe*, Second Edition, Vol. 1, pp. 291-292, 497 e folg.). The actual terms seem to differ somewhat in different districts inhabited by the Vandau. For convenience sake, I give here a list of the names in use at Mount Silinda, Southern Rhodesia, in the heart of the Vandau country, according to the arrangements suggested in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology."

English.	Chindau.
Father	<i>Baba</i>
Mother	<i>Mai</i>
Elder brother (m.s.)	<i>Mukoma</i> or <i>Mukulu</i> .
Elder brother (w.s.)	<i>Mukoma</i> or <i>Mukulu</i> .
(will be addressed as <i>Baba</i> )	
Sister	<i>Mukunda</i> , <i>Hanzadzi</i> , <i>Taita</i>
Elder sister	<i>Urgwani</i>
Younger sister	<i>Munununa</i>
Father's brother	<i>Baba</i>
Father's brother's wife	<i>Mai</i>

Father's brother's child	<i>Mukoma, Munununa</i>
Father's sister	<i>Vatete</i>
Father's sister's husband ( <i>m.s.</i> )	<i>Mukwambo</i>
Father's sister's husband ( <i>w.s.</i> )	<i>Mwaramu</i>
Father's sister's child ( <i>m.s.</i> )	<i>Mudzukuru</i>
Father's sister's child ( <i>w.s.</i> )	<i>Mwana</i>
Mother's brother	<i>Sekuru</i>
Mother's brother's wife	<i>Mbuya</i>
Mother's brother's child	<i>Sekuru (if boy)</i>
Mother's brother's child	<i>Mai (if girl)</i>
Mother's sister	<i>Mainini</i>
Mother's sister's husband	<i>Baba</i>
Mother's sister's child	<i>Mukunda (if girl)</i>
Mother's sister's child	<i>Mukona (elder) (if boy)</i>
Mother's sister's child	<i>Munununa (younger) (if boy)</i>
Father's father	<i>Sekuru</i>
Father's mother	<i>Mbuya</i>
Husband	<i>Mwamuna</i>
Wife's father	<i>Muzere Baba</i>
Wife's mother	<i>Vambuya</i>
Husband's father	<i>Sezara</i>
Husband's mother	<i>Mazarira (addressed as VaMbuya)</i>
Wife's brother (elder)	<i>Mukwambo</i>
Wife's brother (younger)	<i>Mwaramu</i>
Wife's sister	<i>Mukadzi or Mwaramu</i>
Husband's brother	<i>Mwaramu (addressed as Baba if older than husband)</i>
Husband's sister	<i>Mwaramu (addressed as Tetehadzi)</i>
Wife's sister's husband (if the wife is younger than her sister)	<i>Baba</i>
Husband's brother's wife (if the bro her is younger than the husband)	<i>Tate, Hanzadzi</i>
Son's wife's parents	<i>Vazere</i>
Son	<i>Mukororo</i>
Daughter	<i>Mukunda</i>
Younger brother	<i>Munununa</i>
Younger sister	<i>Mwana</i>
Brother's child	<i>Mwana</i>
Husband's brother's child	<i>Mwana</i>
Sister's child ( <i>m.s.</i> )	<i>Mudzukuru</i>
Sister's child ( <i>w.s.</i> )	<i>Mwana</i>

Husband's sister's child	<i>Mudzukuru</i>
Wife's sister's child	<i>Mwana</i>
Son's child or daughter's child	<i>Muzukuru</i>
Wife	<i>Mukadzi</i>
Daughter's husband	<i>Mukwambo</i>
Son's wife	<i>Munyamwana</i>
Sister's husband ( <i>m.s.</i> )	<i>Mwaramu</i>
Elder sister's husband ( <i>w.s.</i> )	<i>Baba</i>
Younger sister's husband ( <i>w.s.</i> )	<i>Mukwambo</i>
Brother's wife	<i>Mwaramu</i>

(addressed as *Mai*)

(*m.s.*=man speaking ; *w.s.*=woman speaking.)

It must be remembered that an elder brother or sister rank as father and mother respectively, and are addressed as such, as a mark of respect.

The following additional list of terms concerning relationships and age-grades may be useful :—

<i>Kushanu</i>	First wife
<i>Muvandabargwa</i>	Illegitimate child ; step-child.
<i>Muvandarimwo</i>	Unborn illegitimate child ; step-child
<i>Mwanakadzi</i>	Female of human family.
<i>Teteguru</i>	Male ancestors at least five generations removed, on father's side.
<i>Tsano</i>	First wife
<i>Ukama</i>	Relationship
<i>Ndhaka</i>	Inheritance
<i>Ngomwa</i>	Barren woman
<i>Ntherera</i>	Orphan
<i>Mudzukuruhururu</i>	Fourth generation
<i>Ushia</i>	Home of wife's parents
<i>Mukuri</i>	Child of woman given without lobola
<i>Murongo</i>	Chief's wife ; queen
<i>Murorgwa</i>	Bride
<i>Chidzukuruhururu</i>	Generations to come
<i>Chikururgwa</i>	Generation
<i>Gonono</i> (disrespectful)	Son-in-law
<i>Mubondo</i>	Second and following wives
<i>Manyambiri</i>	Twins

## Age Grades.

<i>Ndanga</i> (age-grade)	"Those who are equal, as in strength, age or estate."
<i>Chiburi</i>	Infant before it has teeth
<i>Ruchiya</i>	Infant ; baby
<i>Kana</i>	Baby
<i>Ndumure</i>	Two-year-old child
<i>Chippere</i> ; <i>kapgwere</i>	Little boy
<i>Karahwa</i>	Young or little son
<i>Murubgana</i>	Boy ; youth
<i>Jaha</i> : <i>dumbi</i>	Young man
<i>Kapita</i>	Head boy
<i>Kapuntha</i>	Girl of about twelve years
<i>Musikana</i>	Girl
<i>Dangwe</i>	First-born
<i>Deedzeri</i> or <i>deeredzi</i>	Younger child of same parentage
<i>Rudzi</i> (tribe)	Children of same parents

## THE POLITE PLURAL.

The plural pronoun "va" is often used for the singular of Class 1 of nouns (*mu-va*) to show respect. These nouns seem to be feminine.

There is one sub-class of class 2 of nouns (*ri-ma*) denoting human relationships. It would seem that these might properly be placed in the *mu-va* class ; but the appearance of the "dzi" in the singular of several of them, in which instance they take the pronoun "ri," and the fact that they always take "ma" in the plural indicates that they belong to the *ri-ma* class. When "dze" does not appear in the singular form of the noun it takes the pronoun of the *mu-va* class.

Example : *Mai*, mother                    *Madzimai*, mothers  
*Dzimai*, woman                            *Madzimai*, women  
(Chindau Vocabulary.)

## Polite Plural.

<i>Mu- , Va</i> , Class :	<i>VaHosi</i> , the chief's wife
	<i>VaKushano</i> , first wife
<i>Ri- , Ma</i> Class :	<i>VaMbuya</i> , mother-in-law (Pl. <i>Madzimbuya</i> )
	<i>VaTete</i> , Aunt (Pl. <i>Madzitete</i> )



## ADDITIONAL LAMBA APHORISMS.

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By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.

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The following aphorisms, including proverbs, axioms and idiomatic sayings, were collected subsequent to the preparation of those which were published by the American Folk-Lore Society in my *Lamba Folk-Lore*.<sup>1</sup> In this additional collection I have carried on the numbering consecutively to those already published, and have included some cross-references thereto. In the same way with the songs, the numbering is consecutive with the indication *Imb.* for *ulwimbo*, song; with the riddles also, using the indication *Tyo.* for *icityoneko*, riddle.

Regarding the orthography, *v* is the voiced bilabial fricative, *c* and *j* are palatal explosives *remotely* resembling English *ch* and *j*, while *ŋ* is the velar nasal as appearing in the English word *singing*. It must also be observed that when *s* precedes *i* or *y* it is equivalent in pronunciation to *sh*.

1696. *Aka kamosyamwenje, kavikeni pamulilo, mailo vukace'miloce.*

This is a firefly, put it in the fire, tomorrow will dawn with set-in rain.

—A superstition similar to the English one of killing a “daddy-long-legs.”

1697. *Akalyelye kalalila ati : Mpya mpya mpya mpya, nekulu ngamukunku!*

The wagtail cries : Sweep, sweep, sweep, sweep, I am the one with a leg like a kunku<sup>2</sup> tree.

—The wagtail's song of self-praise.

1698. *Akanama valila'vana.*

The little animal the children eat.

—A man may give his child a fowl to kill and eat ; to his son-in-law he will only give parts of a cooked one, because he is not so much his own. Cf. 1692.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lamba Folk-Lore*, by C. M. Doke, Stechert & Co., New York, 1927 ; pp. 570 containing 159 folk-tales, 1695, aphorisms, 95 songs, and 144 riddles.

<sup>2</sup> On this hard tree bark-cloth is beaten.

1699. *Akasavi ukunona nimumininwe.*

The little fish (its) fatness is in the hand.

—One cannot vouch for the fatness of the fish unless one has it in one's hand ready to eat. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

1700. *Alya mālelebwè, aene takatala.*

Those are garrulous ones, they do not get tired.

—Said of talkative people.

1701. *Alya-matava cime, takokola kupupuka.*

That maize is dew, it does not delay in being knocked off.

—In Lambaland, the maize crop is by no means large, and is eaten up as soon as ripe. The crop upon which the people depend for their year's food is that of the *amasaka* (sorghum).

1702. *Alya mātongola-mbono, talala.*

Those are ibises, they do not sleep.

—Said of persons who sleep little. *Amatongola-mbono* means literally "the shellers of castor-oil beans."

1703. *Amenda minsosi, tavatana.*

Water is tears, one does not begrudge them.

—Water is never refused to the thirsty.

1704. *Apo avakulu vonse cilisilile?*

What then, since all my elders are finished ?

—Said by a man who keeps to himself, or remains in the village instead of going away to work. "All my elders are dead, who is there to look after my home and garden, if I go away ? Cf. 1808.

1705. *Apo filatutucilwa.*

In that way things are behind-hand.

—It is too late to start now, the others will have got the best.

1706. *Apo filya nafyo filyo ifi tafivusya-mbwa.*

Those then are foodstuffs that do not waken a dog.

—Said to a man who has only sweet-potatoes in his garden. For the retort, see 1803.

1707. *Apo lulya eluvilo ulwamwapuapu ulwa-mafumya-ŋkwamba avafulwe.*

That is the speed of top-speed at the start, which took off the shell from the tortoise.

—Do not expend all your breath and energy at the start, reserve the highest speed for the final. Cf. 1952.

1708. *Apo mulavile'fyo ati amasenjo alalemo'mwine ?*

Do you say then that horns are heavy on the owner ?

—Don't think that, because so-and-so's head is big, he feels it heavy. A kudu does not feel the weight of its horns, nor an elephant the weight of his tusks.

1709. *Apo mulavile'fyo ati uyu mwavona-po necilukulavila ?*

Do you then say that as though you have seen what was speaking ?

—If a child should unwarrantably revile one, and the father come out to punish him, one would use the above saying, meaning : " He is not responsible for his words ; it is an *icivanda* (demon) speaking through him."

1710. *Apo mungeve'fyo koti nine naninine paculu ukupama-mo ingoma ?*

Do you then make out that, as if it was I who climbed an ant-hill to beat a drum ?

—If strangers, who have come and settled in a village, commence to quarrel with a villager, and say : " Our home is a nice place," the offended villager will retort as above, meaning, " We did not beat a drum to call you here ; our chief's great name acted like a drum on you."

1711. *Apo ulalale'nsalà,<sup>1</sup> kavili uwine efyakulya walwile ?*

Does it (the head) then sleep hungry, when it changes (the dreams) into food ?

—See under 1910.

1712. *Apo ulavile'fyo wemukwasu, ati nasyo<sup>2</sup> silateyiwa katembo ?*

Do you then say that, brother, as though (the days) may be caught in a trap ?

—Time and tide wait for no man.

1713. *Apo ulilavilile kakwasu icibwene amenso ?*

Do you then speak for yourself, little brother, about what the eyes see ?

—We see that you are old, and that all your contemporaries are dead ; we do not need that you should tell us. This is an answer to 1854.

<sup>1</sup>Concord here for *umutwi*, head.

<sup>2</sup>Concord for *insiku*, days.

1714. *Apo we uli kотi ninsoka yamuwa itayumfwa ?*

Are you then like a snake that has died of famine that it doesn't listen ?

—Said to an obstinate person, who will not take heed to warning. Native belief has it that a snake which has died of famine may be in the garden ; when anyone goes to hoe, the dead snake unseen may spring into the face, causing ophthalmia.

1715. *Apo wevo uli imfwiti ukwakuti insiku syonse ukulavila wenka ?*

Are you then a witch who always talks to herself ?

—A warning to a person so acting. Witches and wizards (*imfwiti*) are credited with talking to themselves. Compare the English saying that he who talks to himself talks to the devil.

1716. *Apo yonse'yi teyo miko iyakulukusaulucilwa ififungefunge mumenso ?*

Aren't all these evil omens that a rotten branch should fall down in one's face ?

—If a branch falls on anyone, it is considered an ill omen.

1717. *Ati, vanaygwo'ku valifwile.*

*Ati, kavatanjila, mwevakwasu, fwense eku<sup>1</sup> tubwene.*

A says, Mr. So-and-so is dead.

B says, Let him go on ahead, brother, all of us have seen up there.

—We can mourn his death, but we all know where he has gone ; none shall lose the path, but all will follow when our turn comes.

1718. *Avantu valatwalwa mumo, insonso kivi, tekuti uvekalike.*

People are led along one (direct path), a tingling (at the heart) is bad, and you won't rule them.

—Words of advice to a chief. Be tactful, don't rub your people up the wrong way, or they will desert you.

1719. *Bwaca lelo, bwaca namulupako.*

It has dawned to-day, it has dawned also in the crevice.

—Said of a bright sunny day.

1720. *Bwèlengani lukoso mulukupisya-po, icevo mwevene kale mucilavile.*

It is merely a swilling-round that you are smearing over, the (real) case you yourselves have already talked over.

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<sup>1</sup> Concord for *kwiulu*.

—Said if the defenders want to delay the talking over of a law-case with the plaintiff. They are smearing over mud to cover it up.

1721. *Bwi! Icani tacuma manyinsa, kani cauma nipavucingga.*

*Bwi!* Grass does not wither during the rains ; if it is withered it is over a pit-fall.

—The words of the old water-buck to the young. Used as a warning of danger.

1722. *Cikota cavulwele ici, ngakalume kavulwele ngakalifumine akale.*

This is a female illness, were it a male it would have left long ago.

—Said of a persistent illness. A woman takes more time on the road than a man.

1723. *Cilya cīvungano, tacikaseseka.*

Yonder is a gathering, it will not be cut off.

—Said of the chief's court, where trials are continually being held.

1724. *Cilya cīvusa, fimbī ifīvusa filavula-po.*

Yonder one is a (true) friend ; some friends take from their friendship.

—*I.e.*, they do not always display full friendship.

1725. *Cilya nicimukanwa-kwipanya, tekucilasa.*

That is a thing refused at the chief's abode ; don't wound it.

—If someone has been trying to sell some worthless article, which all refuse, and then produces it later and obtains an offer, the prospective buyer will be warned with the above saying.

1726. *Cimbi wisya-ko, vula fyонse.*

*Ati, Wafwa, ifyo tavatumwa livili.*

Don't leave any, bring all.

One says, You're dead ! In that way one doesn't get sent again.

—A sends a child to bring tobacco from the hut. B, who is sponging on A, says, " Bring it all ! " A retorts that if he does, he won't be sent again, for there will be none left to fetch.

1727. *Cimo caikala-po lukoso lelo palya ngatatwimine.*

A razor has just settled yonder to-day, and it is a wonder that we have got up.

—A and B are going to a village. A tells B that he is going to kill a man for adultery. B pretends to enter into the plan, but when they reach the village he warns and saves the villagers. The latter quote the above saying.

Also said if a stranger arrives in time to rescue one drowning in the river at his home ; a law-case has been avoided.

1728. *Cipalapala, civule nyina, cawisi.*

The resemblance of the child, if not (to) the mother, then (to) the father.

—There is sure to be family likeness to one of the parents in the child.

1729. *Ekumutwa uko twaile kaŋkunduvili ekuvula nevalya.*

It was just piling a stack of porridge where we went, and there lacked those to eat it.

—The hospitality was profuse.

1730. *Epamuvalo mwisile' mpwa ukusovola.*

At the beginning don't finish taking all the capsicums from the pot.

—You will want them to eat with the porridge by and by. Don't be improvident.

1731. *Fulwe ! Wo ? Tolyo'vowa ? Mbabwisa-vowa ? Ninsanda ! Koku, uvo nsilya !*

*Kavili ati, Fulwe, tolyo'vowa ? Mbabwisa-vowa ? Vunjkuŋwa ! Koku, uvo nsilya !<sup>1</sup>*

*Kavili ati, Fulwe, tolyo-vowa ? Mbabwisa-vowa ? Cisamfu ! Ati, ekuli uvovo'ko, ekuli uvovo'ko, ekuli uvovo'ko ! Tanje nduvanjile<sup>2</sup> kalakafu kalakafu kalakafu kalakafu !*

Tortoise ! What ? Won't you eat some mushroom ? What kind of mushroom ? Nsanda mushroom. No, I don't eat that !

Again he said, Tortoise, won't you eat some mushroom ? What kind of mushroom ? Nkungwa mushroom. No, I don't eat that !

Again he said, Tortoise, won't you eat some mushroom ? What kind of mushroom ? Samfu mushroom. He said, Aye, that's a mushroom ; aye, that's a mushroom ; aye, that's a mushroom. First let me start the pace, kalakafu, kalakafu, kalakafu, kalakafu.

—The dialogue of the tortoise, descriptive of his gait.

1732. *Fundwe naye alafwa.*

The informer also dies.

1733. *Fwaka ilyakufyalwa<sup>3</sup> cintu-kulombwa.*

Tobacco, its birth-name is ‘The-thing-that-is-begged-for.’

<sup>1</sup> A v.l. repeats this twice more, mentioning the *uvutyotyo* and *telya* mushrooms.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *uluvilo*, speed.

<sup>3</sup> Concord for *isina*, name.

—The Lamba does not offer tobacco to the passer-by, but waits to be asked for it.

**1734. *Fwe kuno nimutuke-musolo.***

For us here it is swearing by pursing the lips.

—We do not actually swear at you, but when you see us purse our lips, you will know that we are angry. *Umusolo* is the suction sound made by a disgusted person on pursing his lips.

**1735. *Fwe tuli mitwi vasembela.***

We are heads that they have rejoiced over.

—We are threatened with death ; people want to rejoice over our decapitated heads.

**1736. *Fwevo, lwambwa<sup>1</sup> nekanama lulinjile.***

As for us, the (antagonism there is) between a dog and a small buck has come in.

—We are at loggerheads.

**1737. *Icila, mwevanice, cilakula vamutova.***

A trick, children, pulls out the double teeth.

—Trying to surpass another at his own trick often brings disaster. Cf. 292.

**1738. *Icilavilwa tacivula-po.***

What is said does not omit.

—Things come in cycles. Past happenings which are spoken about will happen again. Cf. 107.

**1740. *Icintu lulumbi, civule lulumbi cakkwiva.***

A thing implies an origin, if it have no origin it is stolen.

—If you cannot say where you got the article from, you must have stolen it.

**1741. *Icisimu canji caletelela lelo, tulukutulwa-po muno mumusi.***

My beetle has come straight at me to-day, we shall be attacked here in this village.

—This is said on feeling a throbbing in the shoulders ; it is a notification of the approach of enemies. The beetle is that worn as a charm to bring animals near to the hunter, so the throbbing indicates the approach of enemies. Cf. 1742.

**1742. *Icisimu canji cilukuvyata, vano-vantu vapalamina.***

My beetle is flashing, these people have drawn nigh.

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<sup>1</sup> Concord for *uluvo*, strife.

—This beetle, found on the grass in swamps, is worn when dried as a charm on the arm, and is supposed to flash as a sign that people are coming, and to make another sign if a marauding party approaches. Cf. 1741.

1743. *Icitala cabwipi kūlitintala.*

The insolence of shortness is to strut about.

1744. *Ifintu filapita mōpelo'mo umu fipita.*

Things pass just wherein they pass.

—If other people are fortunate in finding food in the bush, it does not mean that I shall be. Cf. 228.

1745. *Ifyakulaicisya tafifika bwino.*

Things sent by another don't arrive well.

—They get eaten or used on the way. Cf. 1756.

1746. *Ifyakuvonavona filukufula ; uno-mwaka ninevo syavona.<sup>1</sup>*

Continual sights are multiplied ; this year it is I that the (days) have seen.

—My days are numbered, for I have seen several ill-omens. Cf. retort under 1816.

1747. *Ikāngā`ilyaile imbansi talyabwelele.*

The guinea-fowl that went west did not return.

—Don't travel westwards. Cf. 599.

1748. *Imbwa ilele tavaisosota.*

A sleeping dog one doesn't interfere with.

—Let sleeping dogs lie.

1749. *Imbwa tavepaya iyalukoso ; imbwa, mwevanice, telalika.*

A dog one does not kill without a reason ; a dog, children, does not make one sleep.

—Trouble will follow thoughtless cruelty.

1750. *Imfunja yanji ilukutikala, kani kwisa ŋkekuta-po.*

My stomach is throbbing, I wonder where I shall eat my fill.

—A sign that I shall have abundance to eat.

1751. *Imfunja yanji ilukutuntala, nakulya-po inama lelo.*

The side of my stomach is throbbing, I shall eat some meat to-day.

—Cf. 1750.

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<sup>1</sup>Concord for *insiku*, days.

1752. *Imfwa yakulusisi ivipile.*

Death by bark-rope is evil.

—Hanging is an ill-omened death.

1753. *Imfwiti ilenda ili ikekako'vusiku.*

A witch goes about flashing lights at night.

1754. *Inde'lile kaŋga taivalala.*

The stomach that ate the guinea-fowl does not become speckled.

—You say I lie, when I say I ate meat at such-and-such a place.  
Do you expect to see the evidence on my body ?

1755. *Insala yanyinyita, yalisya netumpulubwa.*

Hunger has called, it has sounded a rumbling.

—Said at a time of great food scarcity.

1756. *Insila ilalya.*

The road eats up (things).

—Foodstuffs sent a distance get consumed bit by bit by the carriers on the journey. Cf. 1745.

1757. *Insoŋgo muntu ukuyafwa teluvikwa.*

The eland is a person, where he dies is not forgotten.

—Eland is royal meat and the death of an eland is noised round like that of a person. Cf. 1353.

1758. *Intalo iyakulukutamba taipyä.*

A cooking-pot that is continually looked at does not get burnt fully.

—A watched pot never boils. Continually examining the cooking-pots, while they are being baked, prevents them from being done properly.

1759. *Inuma valalilila ikupapa-po.*

One cries for the back that carries one.

—The child can only be satisfied with its mother; another woman will not do.

1760. *Iŋandı yalupaŋgo yàlupaŋgo litu.*

The house of wealth is one of everlasting wealth.

—This is said principally in reference to beads. The diviners used to be paid in beads, and amass great wealth in the estimation of the people. This is an answer to 1030.

1761. *Ivala lilasilila mukutesyanya.*

The garden is completed by being pushed further and further.

—One doesn't acquire all one's goods at one time. The large space eventually cleared for the garden was done bit by bit in successive seasons. Cf. 728.

1762. *Iyi nintale iyamulufya-kusamba.*

This is a crocodile that causes the bathing to be lost.

—A difficulty or danger that frightens away the people.

1763. *Kakuni, kakuni, wemwame, vùlalo bwe'tanda.*

" A little firewood, a little firewood, mate, it is sleeping out.

" Many hands make labour light. If each brings a piece of firewood there will be sufficient for the night.

1764. *Kakuni-mutwi temukwasu, sombi uwamisisi emukwasu.*

The bower of the head is not my brother, but he of the hair is my brother.

—It is not always safe to trust the cringing, who always bow down before one ; those who are more independent are more to be trusted.

1765. *Kalisumine mukotwe.*

It bit Mukotwe.

—He has a chronic disease. Mukotwe is the personification of disease.

1766. *Kalulu mwàkwe, impoyo mwàkwe.*

The little hare to his place, the reed-buck to his place.

—Each to his own place.

1767. *Kamulicincisya ifi ifimwaliolobwela.*

Be on your guard against going your own way like this.

—Don't act without consultation. See 1768.

1768. *Kamulicincisya ifimwaolovola valya, kùtema kwine.*

Be on your guard against taking along that one ; it means plenty of tree-felling.

—Said to a man who is foolish enough to marry one of a number of unmarried sisters who are likely to remain such ; he will find them all on his hands. Cf. 1767.

1769. *Kamupitila nkulya kwifulaombe lyavensu, mukalukwinjila.*

Go over there to the visitors' cattle kraal and enter.

—Said in exasperation by a man always pestered with visitors,  
" My guest house is as full as a cattle kraal."

1770. *Kamusacisyo'mutanda, nimumpaŋga muno.*

Block up the zareba with brushwood, it is wilderness here.

—There is danger.

1771. *Kamwendesya, mupeni-po akakulya umuvyenu, mulibwene yalemy<sup>1</sup> nekanwa.*

Hasten, give your companion a little food ; see (hunger), has made his mouth heavy. Cf. 1821.

1772. *Kansi ukulimina kwakumutulilwe takuweme-po.*

It is not good then to cultivate gardens towards where the pests come from.

—Don't have your gardens too near the bush where the pigs, buck and birds hide, that will devastate them.

1773. *Kantondi pelo'lunana, fumbwa alapandala.*

Little mouse grind very finely, large black ant only grinds coarsely.

—Said in reproving careless work.

1774. *Kapopopo akalume kavi kalakaninwa-po.*

An insignificant little husband who is bad is refused (in the first instance).

—Said to a woman who wants divorce from her husband on account of his foolishness and insignificance. She should have thought of that before consenting to marry him. Cf. 914.

1775. *Katumpa ninama, valalya.*

Civet is meat, one eats it.

—One puts up with a great deal when one has nothing better.

1776. *Kavili kove ekolukuti kocelela-mo, kovola-mo lukoso, kafitaika' kafiya ɳkweŋga ɳkweŋga, nevo usipela-po, ii !*

And at your place you just rise early, and bang at the tree, and it spills out, and goes rolling all over the place, but you don't give me any.

—Said to a stingy person who does not share the honey he finds in such plenty.

1777. *Koku, ulya müpukasi taanuka kumyapu yavene.*

No, yonder man is an insolent beggar, who never remembers the debt he owes.

—Don't be annoyed when asked for repayment of a debt.

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<sup>1</sup> Concord for *insala*, hunger.

1778. *Kombolwe uli pavo alalitoto'bwalalume.*

A cock at home is proud of his manhood.

—Be careful of what you say or do to a man in his own village.

1779. *Kulya icivusa koku, icili-ko cavalyuni navaŋkwasi.*

There is not true friendship there ; what is there is that of Mr. Vulture and Mr. Fish-Eagle.

—Each is trying to make as much as possible out of his friend.

1780. *Kumfwo'mukulu ati, Mwilukulavile'fyo, mwevanice, icila cilacindiko'mwine.*

Then an elder said, Don't say that, children, a trick the owner praises.

—One does not praise another's tricks.

1781. *Kumulu wanika kutevelwa makuni.*

Towards the source of the river is the right place to cut firewood.

—For if you go downstream, you get into the domains of the hunters, and your chopping would frighten away the game.

1782. *Kumulu wanika uku nako kwainange'mijomba, kwaima nempolove*

*Kumfwa umbi ati, kwapite'nama icenjele.*

Upstream the ground-hornbills walk with a stoop, and a wood-pigeon has risen.

Then one says, A cunning animal has passed there.

—Another saying concerning the source of a river.

1783. *Kwani nakufivona nane neŋkalye-navo ?*

Where shall I find it since I am one who eats with them ?

—How do you expect me to give you food, when I have to sponge on others for my own ?

1784. *Lifusya talicepa, kupela kalila kalili limo, lyatwale'mbuto.*

'Tis a multiplying, it does not lack, at the one end it was but one, (but) it has taken seed.

—Said regarding the chigoe flea (*iundu*). One chigoe unattended soon multiplies and scatters eggs and young everywhere.

1785. *Lukungwe ŋgakatalimpa, alale-po ifyulu fivili ?*

Even if the tree-snake is long, can he sleep on two anthills at once ?

—There is a limit to everything.

1786. *Mbaſwe fweminunji vatola, fwemifwi yacimponya, kwisa twakufivona ?*

How about us porcupine quills one picks up, us arrows that fall, where shall we find them ?

—We are not equal to the task ; it is too hard for us.

1787. *Mba intu<sup>1</sup> imo mumusi ilukwenda kevekula ?*

Should one and the same one always go about the village raising and putting out the light ?

—Said when about to kill a witch or wizard. They are believed to show mystic fires when working their charms. Cf. 1753.

1788. *Mbanafwe fwefafumbwapepe, syani tuŋgafika kuvantu ?*

How are we evil-smelling grasshoppers to approach people ?

—We are not appreciated.

1789. *Mbananevo nemweyama kuvona-po ukwakutina ?*

Am I then a leaning pole, to see anything to be afraid of ?

—I fear nothing because I do not assert myself. I lean on the chief for help ; the responsibility is his.

1790. *Mbanawe wemutuvulusi uſibwene kulipi ifyakupelelwa mumo nenyansi ?*

How can you, a destitute person, find things to compare with a great chief ?

—Our goods are too costly for you to presume to be able to buy them ; only chiefs could afford to.

1791. *Mba-po ulukulaya'vavyove, wevo nipakanjkobwe ?*

Why do you leave instructions with your companions ? Will you return in the time of the rainy-season honey ?

—Instructions are only left if a man is going on a protracted journey.

1792. *Mbasyani mulukatalalala koti ciseva tavatanicile bwino ?*

How is it that you stand up in anger like a skin that they did not peg out properly.

—If not properly pegged a skin will curl up when drying.

1793. *Mbasyani mulukwenda uvumbeyambeya koti valukumutoten<sup>2</sup> ?*

Why do you walk sideways as though they are praising you ?

—Said to a disobedient person. Cf. 1794.

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *imfwiti*, witch or wizard.

<sup>2</sup> v.l., *koti ninyange*, like a crab.

1794. *Mbasyani ulukucita'menso koti mufweulu ?*

Why do you do your eyes like fweulu fruit ?

—Why do you make them so enticing and sweet ?

1795. *Mbasyani, wemwanice, ulukucikalala, wetaumfwa ?*

Why do you strut about, child, you who do not listen ?

—Said to a disobedient child. Cf. 1793.

1796. *Mbatamuya mwevene namuvevo, kamumuposa'masowe akwe ?*

Why don't you go yourself and throw him back his own empty honey-comb ?

—Pay him back in his own coin.

1797. *Mbawe uli cisokosoko, taumfwa avapita ?*

Are you then a sokosoko bird ? Are'nt you used to people passing ?

—Said to anyone who always stops to question passers-by. The sokosoko bird always chatters on the approach of people.

1798. *Mbavovensu vásyani avakukwimya nepo ulala<sup>1</sup> ?*

What sort of visitors are those who lift you up from where you are sleeping ?

—Self-assertive visitors who oust one from his own house, because they cannot find an empty house to occupy.

1799. *Mbawewe uli mulwele wamfulwa, tawikata mutima ?*

Are you then suffering with a second navel, that you cannot control yourself ?

—Said to a fiery-tempered person.

1800. *Mbo'lya naye mumuvambe ? Umwine nikaliyanjile, mwana-ŋkuku talelwa.*

Would you set on to him ? He is the one who pecks for himself, the chicken that is not nursed.

—You must not blame him, for he does not converse in the village, and so must be guiltless. Cf. 1801.

1801. *Mbo'lya naye mumuvambe ? Umwine ulya mwènensi, akasuva kalamuwila mumpaŋga.*

Would you set onto him ? He himself is a great traveller, the sun always sets while he is still on the veld.

—See 1800.

<sup>1</sup>V.l. *avemya nepo ulala.*

1802. *Mbule nkule ulibwene syapopa-ko<sup>1</sup> nebwe ?*

Why shouldn't I grow old, don't you see that the days have hammered a rock over (the hole) ?

—Age has confined me to the house. Cf. 1855.

1803. *Mbuwo koli nafyo tekulukusuvanjila.*

One is thankful to have them, and not to have to walk about trying to find food.

—Anything is better than nothing. This is a reply to 1706.

1804. *Mpyana-ngo<sup>2</sup> alapyana nemavala.*

The leopard's heir inherits the spots as well.

—Debts as well as assets are taken over by the heir to an estate. Cf. 1927.

1805. *Mukakuupwa mwine ulilama.*

A married woman's place is to look after herself.

1806. *Mukuupa mukuupa<sup>3</sup> kambi kasuva koisa mukuupilwa-po akavambangola.*

Marrying, marrying, one day you will happen to marry a fine husband.

—Words of encouragement to a girl whose husband has left her.

1807. *Mukwenda tamulaalwa sinji.<sup>4</sup>*

In a journey many days are not slept.

—The traveller always returns home quickly.

1808. *Milibwene silinsile<sup>4</sup> neŋka avakulu vonse cilisilile pukutu pukutu ?*

Don't you see that the (days) have left me alone, all (my) elders have died right off ? Cf. 1704.

1809. *Muli necikalekale, amasyala avavyo tavaratulula.*

You settle anyhow, one doesn't hoe over again one's mates' ash-heaps.

—Do not move your village to the old site of another village ; there may be disease in the old ash-heaps.

1810. *Muloweni, umwanice takatasya kulowa.*

Poison him, it is not difficult to poison a youngster.

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *insiku*, days.

<sup>2</sup> V.l. *mypyana-ngo*.

<sup>3</sup> V.l. *Mukuupwa mukuupwa*, being married, being married.

<sup>4</sup> Concord for *insiku*, days.

—Children should beware of insulting their elders, lest they should be the victims of poison.

**1811. *Mulukulunde'noŋgo ulwaka.***

You are adding a crack to the cooking-pot.

—Your debt is increasing through delay over settlement.

**1812. *Mulukweva ati alukutenda, kavili kūlifindula kulya alukuli-findula?***

Do you consider that he is ill, when that is just a pretending he is pretending ?

—He is shamming to escape going to work.

**1813. *Mumasako atali tamuli kupalala.***

In long feathers it does not mean (high) flying.

—A man's size does not mean that he can do the most. Although the ground-hornbill and the guinea-fowl have long feathers, they cannot fly as high as the lark.

**1814. *Muntapapa-nsengo avansengo evo mpamā.***

(I am) one who fears not horns, those with horns are the ones I beat.

—A child may say this impudently to an elder with whom he is quarrelling.

**1815. *Mutuka-masala tasyuka.***

He who reviles the deserted village does not prosper.

—It is an ill-omen to revile a deserted village, when passing through it.

**1816. *Muvona-mbiko tafwa.***

The seer of ill-omens does not die.

—This is an answer to 1746. It is not the one who sees the ill-omens who will die ; they are warnings of the death of one of his relatives.

**1817. *Mwafiko'bwakwenkele.<sup>1</sup>***

You have come with an empty sitting.

—Your coming is useless : you cannot stay.

**1818. *Mwafwa, mwevana, uvulema tavaseka.***

You are done for, children, maiming one doesn't laugh at.

—Do not laugh at another's disfigurements or maiming ; you too may be hailed before the chief and maimed for some offence.

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<sup>1</sup>Concord for *ubwikalo*, sitting.

1819. *Mwafwa, ulya nicipiko, taposa mufwi kopita.*

Take care, he is a left-handed person, he does not cast an arrow that merely passes.

—Left-handed persons are credited with great accuracy of aim ; so be careful how you challenge one.

1820. *Mwandasa kwipula.*

You have wounded me with the bees-wax. The full phraseology of this is :—*Mbawemukulu pafileŋgwa wasaŋgane wakana nekwikala ? Ati, Wandasa kwipula ; mbaŋkane ukwikala ati navona-po injikalilo ? Pakuva wemwine ulukupulicisy-a-po.*

You big man, why are you always found after the *lengwa* caterpillars,<sup>1</sup> and won't stay at home ? He says, You have wounded me with the bees-wax ; would I refuse to sit at home if I found some means of staying. It is you who are always finding relish.

—I take no notice of what you say. You have put wax on the arrow, and it has not pierced. Sticks and stones break my bones, but calling me names doesn't hurt me.

1821. *Mwevame, mpeni-po akakulya nemuvyenu, yaŋkwepa, nenalilele insala uko nafuma.*

Mates, give me, your companion, a little food, (hunger) has smitten me, who slept hungry over there whence I have come.

—Cf. 1771.

1822. *Mwevanice, kwisa uko mwacibwene ? Mulukulilyongovola akoni pamutano !*

Children, where is it that you saw it ? You are just preening your feathers like a little bird on a bough.

—It is all your imagination.

1823. *Mwero ili yalukuloka mwalukweva ati cikumbi ?*

You, while it was raining, did you think that it was but overcast ?

—Said to anyone who comes to beg for food. When I cultivated knowing that the rains were nigh, why did you just sit in your house ? Did you think it was but overcast, and that the time to cultivate had not come ?

1824. *Mwikatisye, icivanda tacivula mumasala.*

Catch him tightly, a demon is never lacking in a deserted village.

—When the villagers are moving, because they have found a more favourable site, if one of their number refuses to move and elects to

<sup>1</sup>Which are eaten for relish.

remain alone in the old village, the above is said. It is believed that evil spirits, demons and wild animals haunt a deserted village ; and they will force the man to accompany them.

**1825. *Mwilukunukula vasikanakasi, mwingomya mwiulu, imfula ivule ukuloka.***

Don't pull up lissochilus orchids, lest you should dry up the heavens, and the rain should not fall.

—A superstitious saying of the women.

**1826. *Mwinsikulu wisi, tali mwinsikulu nyinakulu.***

'Tis the grandchild of the father, it is not the grandchild of the great-aunt.

—This is said regarding food : it belongs to the man, and the children must look elsewhere for their food.

**1827. *Mwivulu<sup>1</sup> muno, nimucilya-ŋkulo.***

It is a rumbling in here ; it is where the water-buck is eaten.

—The chief's abode, where many people gather and make a great noise. Cf. 808, 811, 814, 815, 816, 817 and 1137.

**1828. *Namwe pamukoka wenu muli vavyanji, epwali cimya.<sup>2</sup>***

*Ati, Tuvule cimya, ulibwene avakulu lilisilile ?<sup>3</sup>*

As for you, in your clan you are my mate, there is a rousing spirit.

He says, Would we lack a rouser, don't you see that ill-luck has finished all the elders ?

—Said when condoning misfortune.

**1829. *Nasekela-ko akana kanji, mweveme imitembo yenu.***

I have greeted my child ; the loads are yours yourselves.

—This is the reply of the joyous father who greets his child returning with the hunters, when the latter have reproved him for shouting.

**1830. *Nawe nimundivu unwine, apo wevo insiku syonse koti ukwisa kwipanya ukwanuka avavyo ?***

As for you, it is from a bell you drink ; when you come to the chief's place do you always remember your companions ?

—Your tongue is like that of a bell ; you are always talking about other people's business.

<sup>1</sup> Of the same derivation as *vulukuta*, to make sounds in the stomach.

<sup>2</sup> A demon that causes trouble ; *imya* means " raise."

<sup>3</sup> Concord for *isyamo*, ill-fortune.

1831. *Nawe niwepumpunta uwakusivalila kumavondo.*

As for you, you are the glutton cheetah, that starts on the animals at their hoofs.

—You are a glutton.

1832. *Nawe uli injuni yamukula-kuvili.*

As for you, you are a honey-guide of two draggings.

—This is said to a woman who has two suitors of her own acceptance, each looking for marriage price for her. She is like a honey-guide which brings two people to the same hive. Two strings to her bow.

1833. *Nawe uli kaseve, tawikala pamo.*

As for you, you are a buzzard, you don't remain in one place.

—A rolling stone.

1834. *Nawe uli nemutinamino uwatinamine i'vele pakati.<sup>1</sup>*

As for you, you have the preference that preferred the breast in the midst.

—You always want the best place for yourself. The reference is to the position of the woman's breasts between the two arms. The arms and legs are first in position, then in time the breasts mature in their place of preference in the midst.

1835. *Ndi teka uwakwima nekasisi pamukosi.*

I am the Christmas beetle that flies off with a bit of bark-string round my neck.

—Children catch these beetles, tie string round their necks, and watch them fly off with it.

1836. *Nevo ndi ivundi lyamwiko, nsivona vakwasu.*

I am an ill-omened galago, I do not see my relations.

—Galagos do not live in communities, but in pairs in the trees.

1837. *Nevo nemwine ndi cintalantala, ndikacile limo, tamukambona-po nepo ŋkaya.*

I myself am a partridge, I have already tied up (my load), and you will not see where I shall go.

1838. *Nililo'ko tefwilo'ko.*

It is eating over there, not dying over there.

—A call to food is not as urgent as a call to a death-bed. If called by a brother to come and eat, one can refuse, but if called because a

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<sup>1</sup>V.I. *i'vele ukulala pakati*, the breast to lie in the midst.

brother is dying, one must leave everything to go : absence might mean a charge of witchcraft.

1839. *Niwaŋkelempu tavalya mwivala lyamucete, sombi mulyamfumu.*

He is Mr. Parrot, who eats not in a common person's garden, but in that of a chief.

1840. *Niwemwine uli nemitembo iyakuliolobwela.*

'Tis you yourself who have a load that you have brought for yourself.

—Said to a person who has brought a cripple to his house, and cannot get rid of him. Cf. 1936.

1841. *Nsendekele, ŋkwisusisyé.*

Tip it towards me, that I may fill it up.

—A ruse to see what is in the basket on his head.

1842. *Nsyali-ko<sup>1</sup> ukukaluvile.<sup>2</sup>*

I was not where it was lost.

—I am not to blame.

1843. *ŋgamafinge talalika-muntu.*

Such curses do not put a man to sleep.

—They will cause his death, so be careful how you use them.

1844. *ŋgancipose, muvona-kamo müvusu.*

Let me throw it away ; he who sees but one is the poor man.

—Said when expostulated with for getting rid of an article of value. I can replace it ; I am not so poor that I must always use one and the same thing.

1845. *ŋganimumbwe tenda eŋka.*

If it is a jackal, he does not travel alone.

—He is accompanied by a lion.

1846. *ŋgasikaviko'vuci, uli civusa canji, nsikaluvva-ko.*

Even if the (bees) make (much) honey, you are my friend, I shall not forget.

1847. *ŋgatucite'civilila.*

Let us work together in rotation.

—Let us have working bees. Many hands make labour light.

<sup>1</sup> This form for *nsinali-ko* is only used in this aphorism.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *akela*, metal, or *akatemo*, axe.

This is also said when eating : Let us tackle the food together, and we shall manage it.

1848. *ŋgokaya pè, impanga ilapela ?*

Even if you go on for ever, does the veld ever come to an end ?

1849. *ŋkalamu ukavuka-pi ? Kumfwa ati, ŋkalamu akavuka, apasasa'menda akavuka.*

Lion, where will you cross the river ? He says, Lion will cross the river ; where the water runs shallow he will cross.

—This saying originated in the story of the Lion and the Buffalo. They quarrelled and the lion killed the buffalo. “ Where the water runs shallow ” is where the blood of the buffalo is streaming out.

1850. *Ole ! Kwavakavende.*

Truth ! In Kavende's Village.

—A form of oath affected by Mushili, the Lamba chief who died in 1917. Kavende is the name of a mythical Lamba chief.

1851. *Olo ! Ulo lùlya-mutima ulwali kulikalume wamfumu.*

Ah ! That is false trust that was put in the slave of the chief.

—The one whom the king favours, believing he will always remain with him, is the one who proves false.

1852. *Pakuva wemwine niwekampumpwe we ufimbwa kumanjanda.*

As though you yourself were the close grass that is thatched on the houses.

—A rebuke to one who is presuming too far. You are not as important as the thatching-grass.

1853. *Pano elivili ati mpiie kusangana masombwe alukukajka. Apo kweva ati isi<sup>1</sup> sikapela lukoso ?*

Now is the second time on going that I have met a stick-insect shaking. Am I then to expect these (omens) to come to an end ?

—The native is a firm believer in the potency of omens. Cf. 1861.

1854. *Pano fwe syapela,<sup>2</sup> mwewakwasu, syasiŋka-ko nebwe.*

Now, as regards us, (the days) have come to an end, brethren, they have stopped it up with a stone.

Said by an old man when all his contemporaries are dead. For answer to this see 1713. Cf. 1855.

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *imbiko*, omens.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *insiku*, days.

1855. *Pano fwewo silipelele*,<sup>1</sup> *silipopele-ko nebwe*.

Now, as regards us, (the days) have come to an end, they have hammered a stone (over the hole). Cf. 1802 and 1854.

1856. *Pano Lesa apya, alukuteme'misambya*.

Now God is ready, he is cutting down the sambya trees.

—The clouds are gathering for the first rains. The sambya fruit is ripe, and people are cutting down the trees to get at the fruit. This is the time of the approach of the first rains.

1857. *Pano vanan̄gwa neli nimumenso, tekuvule'co icimuciŋkwile kumutima*.

Now So-and-So is not even seen ; one cannot tell what has stabbed him to the heart.

—Said if one of the fraternity ceases coming to talk ; something he has heard his companions say makes him stay away.

1858. *Pimpula tulaale, ukufula kuli milimo*.

Pull up the clothes, let us sleep, undressing means work.

—We have only a short time to sleep : there is no time for undressing and dressing again.

1859. *Sibwalya pinte'ŋgoma, akavambala kali panuma*.

Shibwalya beetle carry the drum, the cricket is behind.

—He will sing and dance to your drumming.

1860. *Silavula-po<sup>1</sup> tasivika-po*.

They take, they don't put.

—As the days pass they take from one's life and strength.

1861. *Silya<sup>2</sup> tasilalika, epamo nasivonamutenje*.

Yonder (omens) don't give sleep, they are the same as a green roof-snake.

—Seeing the green roof-snake is a portent, and deprives one of sleep. Cf. 1853.

1862. *Sombi ŋgakulatuminwa iŋkombe*

But would that there were a messenger sent.

—Then we should know whether the baby will be a boy or a girl. The sex of a birth cannot be forecast.

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *insiku*, days.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *imbiko*, ill-omens.

1863. *Syampele, Cembeŋaŋga, Simaŋkolonto alukaŋga mucitema.*<sup>1</sup>

Shyampele, Chembeŋaŋga, Mr. Scaly-skin of the Lukanga River, who lies in the reeds.

—The title of a Twa chief.

1864. *Takukunama, kani kwakunama nikunika.*

It does not slope downwards without leading to a river.

—When the path in the bush begins to descend, it is a sign to the traveller that he is approaching a river or a plain.

1865. *Tafifimbwa ŋguvo.*

(Pregnancy) is not covered up with calico.

—A woman cannot hide her pregnancy.

1866. *Tamuŋgafivona, epamutete.*

You have not yet seen it, this is in a reed pipe.

—This is nothing to what you will find out ; you have only taken a draw from the pipe.

1867. *Tanje wevo icinyela, we nekuvatwala icinyela tavavona-ko.*

Ah, you (shew) pride, and you take your pride to people who don't stand (lit., see) it.

—Be careful before whom you boast.

1868. *Tanjila-ko, mbawe tocebwa mwikosi ?*

Go ahead, don't you then get gazed at in the neck ?

—Some are too sensitive to lead the single file, lest their fellows behind should see the backs of their necks.

1869. *Tatukwete ucenjelo'tulo.*

Sleep has no one who is too clever for it.

—Sleep catches everyone.

1870. *Taupita<sup>2</sup> mulupya.*

(Fire) doesn't pass over burnt ground.

—Fire cannot pass where it has already devoured. Don't start up again a dispute already settled.

1871. *Tavasonta munwe umuvyove, icivanda cililele kumunwe.*

Don't point the finger at your companion ; a demon lies in the finger.

<sup>1</sup> Twa for the Lamba *icitete*, reeds.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *umulilo*, fire. A v.l. is *taupula*, it does not pass through.

—If, when quarrelling, one points the finger at the other or pokes it on his rival's forehead, the latter considers it warrants a fight, which might result in the death of one of the quarrellers.

1872. *Tecikaka utemenwe, umwaka uwaisile icivilu tawali-po ?*

Isn't it haggling that you like, the year that the fish-sickness came you were not present ?

—Don't always contradict.

1873. *Tonse tuvungo.*

They are all little rubber fruit.

—The full form of this is :—

*Utuvungo-mbalala etuweme. Kumfwa vambi ati, Tonse tuvungo, mba-po amavunjo nao kuva-po namusalwe ?*

Small rubber balls are-good. Then another says, " All are little rubber-fruit, with rubber is there then a picking and choosing ? "

1874. *Tulwe navo kabwe kakalila ?*

Shall we fight with them, (when) the grinding-stone will sound ?

—If we fight, it will be known to all around, even as the sound of grinding is heard.

1875. *Twaipaye'nja yaufufisi, tekwitula.*

We have killed a secret lechwe, don't spread the news.

—Let us enjoy alone what we have got.

1876. *Twaisa kuponena muflende-finji mucipyा.*

We have happened to fall into many graves in the overgrown village site.

—Said when the place is very badly overgrown.

1877. *Twaliikalisye navanangwa pakuvə vantu tavanuka.*

We used to live with so-and-so a very long time ; since he is a human, he does not remember.

—Said to excuse an old friend who lacks the proper courtesies.

1878. *Twali vantu nafwevo, twali munjanda yamutenje iyacive.*

We also were people ; we used to be in a house with a warm roof.

—Said by a chief reduced to poverty. My present state does not indicate what I was. I used to have a large house warmed by the gathering of many people.

1879. *Ubwanga bwe'kombo valalikombola.*

Wizardry of the navel, one strips oneself.

—To commit fratricide is like cutting off one's own navel : one is left lonely and helpless.

1880. *Ukavona, ukavona. Apo ɳkafivone lisa, pano nefyanji fyasila ?*

You will see, you will see. When then shall I see, since now my goods have come to an end ?

—Said by a sick man to a doctor. Your promises of recovery are valueless, and now you have taken all my goods in payment for treatment.

1881. *Uko ukulavila kwafimpampi, kulekate'mitima yavantu.*

That talk is mere misplaced wit, it catches the hearts of people.

—A rebuke to one who is trying to be witty at his companions' expense.

1882. *Ukulavila, mwevakulu, kamulukulinyanta.*

—When speaking, ye elders, say little (lit., tread on yourselves).

—*Multum in parvo.* Little but to the point.

1883. *Ukulekansyano'vumi kuliweme !*

To part one from the other in health and strength is good !

—Said by the husband to his wife, when she wants to leave him.

1884. *Ukusansyo'vunga civalakale.*

Mixing together different kinds of meal is a practice started long ago.

—It is an old custom for friends to pool their resources to buy something expensive.

1885. *Ukuvonana kùvi, ukumfwana kuliweme.*

Seeing one another is ill, hearing of one another is good.

—There is less chance of quarrelling.

1886. *Ukwenda kasaku nikumutima ili kwasakuka.*

Happy travelling depends on a contented heart.

1887. *Uli nemakowela muntivi.*

You have a coughing in the chest.

—You have broken marriage taboo.

1888. *Uli nemukundula wakupela.*

You have a swaying method of grinding.

—You have not strength for the task.

1889. *Uli nemutima wakalukutu, wevo wemwanice, ukesa kuliteva lukoso kumuso.*

You have the heart of a demon, child, you will (one day) impale yourself right on a stake.

—Said to a nervous child who runs at the least fright.

1890. *Ulukulavila kalibwelibwe, tekulavilisyā? Kavomfwa avavyo ukucafuma icocevo.*

Do you speak in snatches, instead of speaking loudly ? So that your companions may hear from whence this affair has come.

—State the whole case explicitly.

1891. *Ulukulombo'mutima uwikete imbafu?*

Are you asking for the heart that clings to the ribs ?

—Don't ask for what the owner prizes most. When meat is being divided out, the heart is reckoned to go along with the ribs ; so if the owner wants the ribs for himself, it is useless for you to ask for the heart.

1892. *Ulukupimpaka ! Kumfwa ati, wemuntu uweva ukupimpaka untu ufwika.*

You walk fiercely ! He retorts, Man, the one to accuse of walking fiercely is the one who clothes.

—The husband accuses his wife of bad temper. Her retort is that if he clothed her better he would be justified in accusing her of temper.

1893. *Ulukutoveko'mutwi koti cilende.*

Your head is split open like a grave.

—Said to make fun of a person.

1894. *Ululi<sup>1</sup> kuno, mwavame, nename'nonene ikakuva.*

What is here, mates, and the fat animal will get thin.

—It is a terrible fight.

1895. *Ulumini love lütali, ukalukopole-ko.*

Your tongue is long, you will cut it off.

1896. *Ulupafu talucepa, mùmino walusato.*

A sack is never too small, it is the throat of a python.

—A sack is a “ hold-all ” ; more can be stuffed into it than one would think. A small python can swallow a big animal.

1897. *Ulwendo nsolosi, lwavula nsolosi lwalala.*

A journey means a guide, if it has no guide, it comes to nothing.

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<sup>1</sup>Concord for *uluvo*, fight.

1898. *Ulya mwafwa mwèo, tavakuma-ko!*

Look out for him, he is (my) life, one does not touch it.

—He is my friend, don't speak ill of him, because he is like my life, and must not be tampered with.

1899. *Ulya mwànakasi uweme, nsipitilwa kasuva.*

She is a good woman ; I don't have the sun pass over me (without eating).

—She always cooks my food regularly.

1900. *Ulya nifuñgwe, camununcila.<sup>1</sup>*

He is a civet, (his skin) has made a stench for him.

1901. *Ulya nilukote cenda-eñka.*

He is a stoat who travels alone.

1902. *Ulya nisampa lufumya-mita.*

He is a large barble that draws out the other barbles.

—Applied to a deceiver. The *sampa*, a large species of barble, leaves the river to come to the flooding plains to eat, and deceives the other fish before the water is sufficiently deep thereon.

1903. *Ulyo'mwine kàsumbisonde, kalalilila.*

He himself is a little buzzard that cries to itself.

—Said of a man who keeps to himself.

1904. *Ulyo'mwine nifumbwe, alafuvucila mutwanice.*

He himself is a transferrer, he transfers to youngsters.

- —Said of a man who always tries to put the blame for his misdeeds onto children. Also, if an old man lives on and on while children die, he is accused of passing on his death to them.

1905. *Umulandu ulaliminwa.*

A debt is hoed for.

—The results of cultivation will cancel a debt.

1906. *Umupasi wove taumya kuvoko.*

One's familiar spirit doesn't dry up one's arms.

—It does not harm the one to whom it belongs.

1907. *Umusi wamucobue tawikalikwa.*

A village where there is reviling is not firmly established.

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<sup>1</sup>Concord for *icisera*, skin.

(To be continued.)



## BOOK REVIEWS.

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"*Olden Times in Natal and Zululand, containing earlier Political History of the Eastern-Nguni Clans,*" by the REV. A. T. BRYANT; with two maps and thirty-one illustrations, 1 vol., XXI+710 pp. : Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

This book has for its design to fill a blank in South African literature, which would have probably been a permanent one but for the chance which brought the author into the country some forty years ago—a man at once curious, learned, of infinite industry and devoid of worldly ambition. Coming from London, the acquisition of the language of the South African people must have engrossed much of his earlier attention, and then when he had come to perceive the need for a book such as that with which he has now presented us, the difficulties in his way were such as would have discouraged most. "Having," he says, "no means of our own to cover the expense of necessary travel, and no pecuniary aid being forthcoming from without, we gathered our material casually as we went through life, and as occasion offered"; and, having in these circumstances grappled with a task of appalling magnitude and complication, and brought chaos into reasonable coherency, he found himself confronted by the question whether after all the result could be made available to the public, on whose behalf he had disinterestedly laboured, or would fall back into its obscurity. The Government, to its credit, undertook to defray the cost of publication, but found it necessary to restrict its generosity. "Owing to the need of economy," it was able to insert "only a few of the more than a hundred photographs supplied for illustrating our book," and "for the same reason the Government appointed its own official reviser to reduce the great bulk of our manuscript." What remained after this revision was sufficient to fill two ordinary volumes, but has been crowded into one which, though of good type, is heavy to hold and somewhat awe-inspiring. Moreover, the author somewhat plaintively refers to "frequent evidence of two hands and two heads having been at work." These are subjects of regret; one could have wished that he might have been unrestrained. Some claim has recently been set up on behalf of South Africa, that it was the "cradle" of the human race, which I suppose to mean that the first emergence from the animal to the human form took place within its confines; but, if this be so, it would seem that the succeeding steps

in the evolutionary ladder must have been placed in other scenes, for there is no evidence that, up till some five hundred years ago, the sub-continent had a more advanced form of the race than Hottentots and Bushmen ; these primitive peoples had the land to themselves and made no great use of it. Then the Abantu came, having been impelled southward from some equatorial region by some motive of which I have seen no explanation. The process of migration was conceivably long and varying vicissitudes, and conditions to be traversed, added to such variations in character as may have existed in separate groups at the time of setting out. Thus the "click" so pronounced in the Zulu speech is supposed to have been acquired by contact with Bushmen and to indicate that these people were the first to set out, and that they found more of the little nomads in their line of march than they left to be encountered by followers.

Any conception of this migration must necessarily be vague, but of the fact there would appear to be little doubt. It was necessarily terminated by the sea, and the real purpose of the book is to furnish an account of their endeavours to establish themselves in a settled condition. The author makes no mention of tradition relating to the great migration, and I suppose none exists ; but what is to be found concerning the period of fixed abode he has carefully gathered. He has made a list of some eight hundred clans and sub-clans and of these he has given the history, telling of their distinctive origin and what they did. He has also furnished genealogical tables of their ruling families, in which it is noticeable that these people like to show a long descent. There is little mention of land disputes ; by some process the several clans appear to have secured recognition by their neighbours of their rights to the areas in which they elected to dwell. Nor was there any serious inter-tribal war. Such quarrels as occurred were generally of a personal character and settled by one battle, in which there was no great mortality, and friendly relations were soon restored. Except for an occasional short harvest due to abnormality of the season, they were well provided with the things necessary to the simple life ; indeed, the conditions were such as to produce a tendency to stagnate and excite the scorn of men having ideals of advancement. Such men were to arise, but had to be long waited for—till 1808. In the meantime there is a pretty little story entitled "Malandela goes forth to found a tribe." This incident is assigned to about the year 1670. This man resided in the vicinity of the Ibabanango, but for some reason decided on a southward migration, and built himself

a dwelling on the bank of the Umhlatuze River. He had a wife in the person of one Nozinja, and she bore him two sons, who were named respectively Qwabi and Zulu. He then died and Nozinja was left much to her own resources. She was an industrious woman, and by the selling of the grain which she raised she was enabled to acquire goats which, after certain increase, she exchanged for what proved the nucleus of a beautiful herd of "milk-white" cattle. Her desire was that these should be the portion of her younger son, Zulu, but Qwabi cast a longing eye upon them, and she left, taking them and her younger boy back to the place where her husband had formerly lived. This boy was destined to become the titular father of the nation which his descendant Tshaka (the author spells the name Shaka) was to form, to be known and become famous as Abakwa (the children or people of) Zulu. How all this came about is thrillingly told.

Dingiswayo, the heir to the Umtetwa Chiefship, who had been in exile, returned and re-established himself in his birthright towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, and he brought new ideas with him. Incidentally Sir Theophilus Shepstone's account of the wanderings of this man is discounted. Instead of reaching the Cape, and seeing there how British troops were drilled, he would seem only to have reached the domain of the Amahlubi on the Upper Umzinyati River. But he met and became acquainted with a white man there, the first to have been seen in those regions who possessed a horse and a gun. There is some unconvincing speculation as to the identity of this man. He accompanied Dingiswayo when the latter set out on his homeward journey, and was killed on the way in a manner which is left in some obscurity, but, having possessed himself of the horse and gun, the returning chieftain was enabled by their means to augment his tribesmen's sense of his importance. Whether the new ideals which he had conceived had been inspired by the mysterious white man, is a matter of speculation, but they were undoubtedly of a striking order. The author likens him to certain ancient Empire-building heroes. His desire, like that of "Hiawatha," appears to have been "that the tribes should be united," but his method differed in that, instead of gathering them round a "peace-pipe," he proceeded, as the initial step, to subjugate them with the assegai. Then he endeavoured to inspire them with higher industrial aims, and had to some extent succeeded, but too soon he was captured in battle by the Ndwandwe chief, Zwidi, and put to death. Then Tshaka, who had learnt the art of war in his service, pursued his

example in respect to conquest, but he was more ruthless in his assaults and destitute of other aim than his personal magnification. His operations produced a general stampede, and we read of confused and sanguinary and withal some well-ordered migrations : of the Fingoes, who have been prominent in the Eastern District of the Cape Province ; of the Amabaca, still occupying the southern bank of the Umzimkulu ; of the Hlubi and Mangwana, who fought each other to destruction in the course of their scramble ; of Sebituane, who made his way to the Zambesi, and on whose invitation Livingstone made his first expedition thither, resulting in much important exploration ; of Umzilikazi, who established the Matabele nation, and others, all which events were destined to have pronounced effects upon the course of later history.

It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed criticism of the book. It is scarcely likely that no errors would occur in a task of such magnitude, but, as it stands, it cannot but be of great service to those charged with native administration. As a great drama, it cannot fail to repay a perusal by the average reader. It is worthy of careful study by those who would acquire an understanding of the present-day "Native Question." One hopes that it may receive due attention, and that some measure of gratitude will not be wanting for the abnegation and devotion of the author.

J. Y. GIBSON.

*Stamskole in Suid-Afrika: 'n Ondersoek oor die Funksie Daarvan in die Lewe van die Suid-Afrikaanse Stamme.* DEUR WERNER EISELEN. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, Bepk., 1929. 134 pp.

In this important little monograph, the first study in theoretical anthropology to be published in Afrikaans, Dr. Eiselen deals with the time-honoured problem of the origin and development of age-classes, tribal and secret societies, and advances a new explanation of his own, based on a consideration of South African data. His treatment of the subject falls into three well-defined sections. The first contains descriptions of puberty rites among the native tribes of South Africa and some of their neighbours. The rites of the Bergdama, baVenda, baPedi and amaTembu are selected for detailed discussion, the accounts for the three last-named tribes embodying to some extent the results of original investigation in the field. Then follow shorter descriptions for certain other tribes (ovaHerero, ovaMbo, maShona, balla, aNyanja), and finally the baKongo and Masai are dealt with,

the former as a typical hoe-cultural tribe, the latter as a purely pastoral people. It is a great pity, considering the stress laid throughout by Dr. Eiselen upon economic factors in his treatment of these rites, that he did not also devote some attention to the Hottentots, whose mode of life is a combination of pastoralism and hunting, and who would have provided him with some interesting data for discussion.

The second part, containing a critical survey of some of the more prominent theories regarding the formation of tribal societies, paves the way for the final part, in which Dr. Eiselen puts forward his own theory. This is based primarily upon the assertion that there is an intimate correlation between the economic life of a people and its social organisation. "To put the matter briefly," says Dr. Eiselen, in the English summary of his argument, "both hunting and pastoral tribes can and often do evolve a tribal society of men, into which all boys are initiated after a course of training in the main occupation of the tribe. On the other hand, at the 'hoe' stage the labour of men becomes of less economic importance, so that tribal societies of men become superfluous and are supplanted by a variety of associations with voluntary membership."

This point of view is developed at considerable length in the Afrikaans text (pp. 101-126), where it is presented in a form which merits all serious attention. It is impossible to refer here to the many interesting but controversial suggestions brought forward by Dr. Eiselen in support of his theory, but there is one feature at least in which his treatment of the whole subject appears to be quite inadequate. As the sub-title indicates, his book is meant to be a study of the function of "tribal societies" in the life of South African tribes, and yet very little is actually said by him of the part these "societies" do play in the organization of the tribe. The puberty ceremonies, after all, among most of the Chwana tribes at least, serve primarily to group boys and girls respectively into "regiments" which have a marked effect upon the whole tribal polity; and in order to amplify and justify his argument, Dr. Eiselen should have told us far more than he does about the structure and functions of these "regiments" once they have been formed. Nor does he enlarge sufficiently upon the differences in organization between those South African tribes which have the regimental system and those in which it does not exist. We also miss any discussion of the Zulu military system, to which one would have expected to find at least some extended reference in a work of this nature.

The bibliography listed is fairly comprehensive, but there are several surprising omissions. No use appears to have been made of the elaborate description of Pedi circumcision schools given by Harries in "Notes on Sepedi Laws and Customs" (Pretoria, 1909; revised ed., 1929), or of Willoughby's study of Chwana initiation ceremonies in the *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* for 1909 and Ramseyer's lengthy account of circumcision amongst the baSuto in *Rev. d'Ethnographie* for 1928; and yet each of these is a source of primary importance for the theme with which Dr. Eiselen deals.

#### I. SCHAPEREA.

*Africa. Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.* Editor, Diedrich Westermann, Director of the Institute. Assistant Editor, Dorothy Brackett, Assistant Secretary of the Institute. Published quarterly for the Institute by the Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London. Vol. I., Nos 1-4, 1928; Vol. II., Nos. 1-4, 1929.

Almost immediately after its inception, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures embarked upon the publication of this Journal, the latest of the periodicals to be entirely devoted to the scientific study of African affairs; for though the term "Languages," used in the Institute's name is necessarily somewhat restrictive, the term "Cultures" has been interpreted in its widest sense, covering, indeed, practically all aspects of the life of the African peoples. This interpretation seems to the present reviewer a happy one, and, reading the two volumes that have been issued in the light of the interpretation, and attempting to judge of the quantity and quality of the articles presented, we may feel confident that the objects of the Journal are being attained with very great success, and that a brilliant future lies before the publication.

The contents of the two volumes are very varied. To name but selected titles out of those that have appeared, we may mention Sir Frederick Lugard's outline of the objects of the Institute, the Executive Council's Memorandum on Text-Books for African Schools, Dr. von Hornbostel's *African Negro Music*, Mr. Driberg's *Primitive Law in Eastern Africa*, Captain Rattray's *Anthropology and Christian Missions*, M. Hardy's *La 'Librairie' des écoles indigènes en Afrique*, Prof. Westermann's *Gottesvorstellungen in Oberginea*, Professor Labouret's *Le coton et l'indigène*, Rev. Laman's *Languages used in the Congo Basin*, M. Delafosse's *La numération chez les nègres*, Dr. Gutmann's *Aufgaben der Gemeinschaftsbildung in Afrika*, M. Dubois' *Assimilation ou adaptation?*, Prof. Malinowski's *Practical*

*Anthropology*, Prof. Meinhof's *The Basis of Bantu Philology*, Dr. Thurnwald's *The Social Problems of Africa*, M. Torday's *The Principles of Bantu Marriage*, Father Schmidt's *Zur Erforschung der alten Buschmann Religion*, Dr. Thurnwald's *Social Systems of Africa* and Prof. Westermann's *The Linguistic Situation and Vernacular Literature in British West Africa*; nor have South African workers been wanting in the supply of contributions, Dr. Doke having given us *The Linguistic Situation in South Africa*, Mr. Goodwin *The Stone Ages in South Africa*, Miss Bleek *Bushman Folklore*, Rev. Wanger *Afrikanische Völkernamen in Europäischen Sprachen*, Dr. Eiselen *Preferential Marriage*, Rev. Willoughby *Some Conclusions regarding the Bantu Conception of the Soul*, and Dr. Schapera *Economic Changes in South African Native Life*.

The list is impressive enough. When we add that to the general articles there must be added such serial articles as those on Practical Orthography by Mr. Lloyd James, Prof. Meinhof and Prof. Jones, and such a serial feature as *The Voice of Africa*, which, appearing in each issue, gives the original text and a careful translation of some specimens of African literary art, such as proverbs, songs, stories, etc., from all parts of Africa; when we add the very exhaustive and excellently-classified bibliography of Africana, appearing periodically and many notes of interest to Africanists which appear under the general heading of *Notes and News*, we must indeed be grateful for this most useful clearing-house for information on African things, for this most useful forum of opinion upon African subjects, for this most scientific periodical devoted to the science of Africa.

It would be an impossible and futile task to attempt to criticise, or even to summarise, all or even a representative number of the articles that have appeared. A note on the general tendencies of the Journal is all that can be attempted here. Now obviously such general tendencies are controlled by the general outlook of the Institute itself. And it may be remarked at once that, while strictly scientific in its outlook, neither the Institute nor the Journal is, in the first place, purely scientific, but rather *presumes* a scientific background for its main purpose, which appears to be the application of scientific principles to the solution of practical problems. It is true enough that we can hardly imagine anything more scholarly, both in the wider and in the narrower sense, than, say, MM. Labouret and Travélé's *Le Théâtre Mandingue*, in the first number of Vol. I., to give but one example out of several; at the same time, the preponderance of articles is of the practical applicative kind as will appear even on a cursory examination of the titles cited. This tendency

again, the reviewer feels, is all to the good, as long as the strictly scientific attitude presumed by the Institute remains a qualification of all its members. For too long has public opinion been lax about the results of scientific research upon Africa ; too long have University institutions been endowed for linguistic and ethnological research without the results of such research rousing any but mild interest in the breasts of those who have so endowed them, without even a thought entering the minds of the endowers that the results not only could but should be applied ; too long have governments hastened to experiment on large scales as a result of the recommendations of the locust expert, the wool technician, the citrus specialist, without a shadow of a dream of trying out some of the ideas of the Africanist, whether linguist, ethnologist, or historian, whether educationalist, economist or student of polity. It is the duty of the Institute, and much of the function of its Journal, to see that the results of Africanistic research shall no longer be pigeon-holed. To this end, it seeks rather to apply than to discover, rather to be popular than to be technical, rather to reform than to inform, rather to organise than to dissect. But withal the standard of the work remains uniformly high, the scientific quality is not impaired, there is no "popular" tone about the articles. *Africa* fills a very marked gap which existed hitherto between the world of scientists and the world of administrators, between the scholar and the intelligent layman, between the linguist, ethnologist, educationalist, missionary and administrator, and we are glad for the sake of the black and white inhabitants of Africa whom *Africa* seeks to serve.

G. P. LESTRADE.

*Structure and Relationship of African Languages.* By ALICE WERNER, D.Litt. (Lond.). London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. 62 pp., 4s. 6d. (With a Preface by Hanns Vischer.)

This little publication contains the substance of four lectures delivered to Colonial Office Probationers at Oxford and Cambridge during 1928-9. The four chapter titles are : I., The Main Divisions of the African Languages ; II., The Sudanic Family ; III., The Bantu Languages ; IV., The Hamitic Languages. The material really contains nothing additional to what Dr. Werner has already published in her *Language Families of Africa*, but in this present publication an outline of the structure and relationship of the three main language families is presented in a short, concise and very readable fashion. This little book should serve as a very useful introduction to anyone desiring to commence the study of an African language.

C.M.D.

# THE LITERATURE OF LESOTHO.

(Basutoland).

BY G. H. FRANZ.

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## I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

#### THE PRE-LITERARY PERIOD.

The Bantu people have from time immemorial had in their midst both men and women who had messages to give to the world. The great Bantu leaders made use of such men, and, as was the custom among the monarchs of old, assigned to them the honours of court bards. In Sesotho the songs of the bards are called *lithoko*. We are indebted to Mangoaela for collecting and so preserving the *lithoko* of Lesotho.

The Mosotho "praiser" was a poet. Even if his chants cannot always be cast in the mould of the European poems, yet the *lithoko* contain a rhythm which carries the hearer along, and the beautiful intonation supplies the music. The *lithoko* need not be sung. If they are but spoken or chanted with the correct intonation, they are in themselves musical.

The *lithoko* reveal a wonderful fund of imagination. The old Basotho were children of Nature and to a far greater extent than are their descendants of to-day. Their ordinary conventional language is full of beautiful pictures and comparisons from Nature. Anybody carrying on a conversation in Sesotho, however short, will find himself using either similes or metaphors. But it is in the *lithoko* that our old court praisers have really excelled themselves, and created "picture-talks."

It is therefore of great importance that these chants have been preserved for us. Present economical conditions compel the Mosotho to talk simply and to the point. There is no time for long speeches and wealth of imagery. The language is becoming more and more prosaic and matter-of-fact. Soon the old beauty and picturesque extravagance will have to give way to more businesslike and material exactness. But the *lithoko* will live for ever as a monument of old-time glory and beauty.

But it is not only the bards that have left us their creations. There were story-tellers, too. Grimm, who collected the old beautiful fairy-tales and fables of the Germanic people, has his counterpart in E. Jacottet, who collected the old Basotho fairy-tales and preserved them for us. We owe him a great debt of gratitude, too, especially since he preserved all the simple beauty of the original tales. Yet we must never forget that Jacottet was only the collector and assembler of these tales. Who was the originator? As in the case of Grimm's Fairy Tales, it is impossible to say. These tales have come to us as a legacy handed down by each generation to the next.

These fairy-tales are more than mere stories—they are the form into which the wisdom of the old people was cast. The different qualities, both good and bad, are personified. In fables the animals take the place of persons, each according to their nature and character. The lion, for instance, is the *mohale*, the jackal the *sethoto*, the tortoise stands for *bohlale*. So wisdom and experience are cast into a form that is easily understood by children and enjoyed by both big and small. The beauty of the *litšomo* is that the moral is not explained, yet it is clearly brought out by the story.

The period of the *lithoko* and the *litšomo* may then be called the literary period, for when they were produced, Sesotho had not been reduced to writing. It is pleasant to know that these works have now also been brought into the literary period by their publication.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Before passing on to the review of orthodox literature, the writer wishes to thank certain authors for their courtesy in supplying accounts of their own lives, and especially Mr. Z. D. Mangoaela for his intimate account of the life of Everitt Lechesa Segoete; also Mr. C. Moikangoa for bringing the writer into touch with authors who are his personal acquaintances, and last, but not least, the writer wishes to thank Mr. J. H. E. Dumbrell, Director of Education for Swaziland and Bechuanaland, for valuable help and guidance in the criticism of the works.

So the literature may be divided into the following groups:—

- (i) Christian literature.
- (ii) School literature.
- (iii) Folk Lore and Custom.
- (iv) Short Stories.
- (v) Novels.
- (vi) Allegory.

In reviewing the different works under these headings, it is proposed to dwell at length upon the works written by the Basotho about Bantu people, not because the works written by the European missionaries are considered in any way inferior, but because it is hoped that by showing what Basotho have done, other Basotho, and, one ventures to hope, other Bantu people, may be spurred on to greater endeavours. The works written by the European missionaries have undoubtedly acted as good examples and sound models to Basotho authors, and it is a pleasing feature of the letters of the latter that they express their appreciation of the help and guidance they have received from men like Jacottet, Dieterlein, Ellenberger and others. It is quite clear that the greatest authors wrote their best works under the guidance, advice and inspiration of the "Bontate ba Fora."

#### (i) CHRISTIAN LITERATURE,

This section contains first and foremost a very fine translation of the Bible. There is much in the Bantu that is akin to the early Jewish, not only in social laws and custom, but also in the language—its imagery and picturesqueness. When read in Sesotho, the Bible, especially the Old Testament, conjures up quite a different picture, than when read in one of the European languages.

The language of the Bible is furthermore the language of the Basotho people, and must always remain the standard of Sesotho. The translators of the Bible were purists, and so their translation of the Bible is an exceptionally pure form of Sesotho. One cannot but view with alarm the tendency which is everywhere evident at the present moment to introduce foreign words into scriptural writings. It is with a distinct shock that one meets such words as "bapatisa" (baptise), "movirigo" (virgin), "adora" (adore) etc., in some of the tracts published by Missionary Societies. Surely, pure Sesotho words like "kolobetsa," "Kharebe," "khumamela," are more euphonious.

The reason given for the introduction of these words is that the older words do not express the religious essentials clearly enough, and that having a definite meaning already attached to them the older conception might militate against the inner meaning of the word as found in the Scriptures. The argument is further raised that the English language has been enriched by wholesale borrowings and adaptations from other languages.

While it is not the intention of the writer to close the door of Sesotho to legitimate borrowings from other languages, a warning must be sounded. If the Christian religion is to be a cloak worn by the Bantu to suit the dictates of Western civilisation, then foreign words, pure or in adaptation, will be found the best instruments for the introduction of that form of worship ; if, on the other hand, Christianity is to be something for the Mosotho or Bantu in private as well as public life, then his own language should be made the instrument of introduction and propagation. Every man who knows the Basotho intimately sees how easily they are denationalised through outside influences, and to him the doubtful advantages accruing from wholesale borrowings cannot outweigh the fear of making the Basotho an unstable group.

To allay the fear of dogmatists, one can but mention that nearly a hundred years ago certain words were adapted from Pedi language to express Christian ideas, and it is noteworthy that to-day these words have lost their old meaning. We mention a few here : *Khunamela* (kneel to reverence), *selalélo* (communion), *kolobetsa* (baptise).

*Sesotho Hymns.*—There is no intention to cast any aspersions on the writers of Sesotho hymns, because their authors include some of the most earnest missionaries, not only amongst the Basotho, but also amongst other Bantu nations and tribes.

The grave fault with these hymns is that the text has been pressed into impossible melodies. To preserve the tune one must often do violence to Sotho intonation. A well-known hymn is cited as example :—

“ *rea ho boka morena.*”

When spoken naturally, there is a marked intonation on the “*bo*” and on the “*re*” in “*morena*. ” When sung, however, the words must be pronounced “*rea ho bohoka mohorena*,” and the intonation is on the extra syllable in each case.

One feels that it is only a Mesotho composer who can do the justice to both the language and the tune which Calusa has done for Zulu. The question arises : “ Why should the Creator be praised and adored only in melodies and in rigid forms adopted by one nationality and race ? ” The Basotho have their own form of praise which is more in keeping with their own peculiar temperament, and this form has been observed since time immemorial. Surely adoration and reverence can only be sincere if they are in keeping with the

national custom and temperament ! It is sincerely hoped that the Churches carrying on mission work will soon realise this or, it is feared, the Christian devotions of the Bantu may become nothing more than imitative form.

Other books under this heading are : Scripture Commentaries, A Bible Dictionary, Church History, Bible History, History of the Israelites, and Books on the Holy Land. It is not intended to discuss these books, because they are the work of Europeans. It must be remarked in passing, however, that they will always remain monuments of the energy and devotedness of the great missionaries of old.

Before leaving this section, mention must be made of two books of great interest, entitled *Ruthe oa Moabe*, by S. Dube, and *Esau le Jakobo*, by H. Dieterlein.

In both these books the biblical story is re-told in a most charming manner, and explanations of Jewish custom are given in the light of Basotho custom. The authors seem to dwell consciously or unconsciously on those passages in which the Jewish custom is akin to the Sotho custom.

Of the two books, *Ruthe oa Moabe* (the story of Ruth) is certainly the more ambitious. Ruth's faithfulness to her husband's mother, her courageous support of her impoverished mother-in-law, her toil amongst the gleaners and withal her humility as beseems a true woman (amongst the Basotho), and finally her romance and triumph, are simply and beautifully told. One feels all along that this might have been a theme from the life of the old Basotho.

#### (ii) SCHOOL LITERATURE.

In this field a good deal of work has been done, and one must refrain from criticism, because the writers were pioneers, were poorly equipped and were groping in the dark. Few Basotho realise of what value the school books have been—and still are—to their nation. The Paliso (ea Bana and I.-IV.) contain a wealth of general information on every conceivable subject, both religious and secular. They are especially valuable, because they contain extracts from the great Basotho writers. Like all sets of readers, they have been in use so long that they have become "stale" through constant use and will soon have to yield their place to new books with new methods.

There is quite a number of books for more advanced study :—

- Tsa Leholimo le Leatše*, by S. Dube (a book on astronomy).
- Sesotho-English Dictionary*.

*Sesotho Grammar.*

*Histories of Lesotho.*

*Paballo ea 'Mele* (a book on hygiene).

These are all good books and extremely useful for school purposes. Mention must especially be made of one book entitled *Bukana ea Histori e ngoletsoeng Likolo* (a booklet of history written for the schools) by E. Jacottet.

This booklet is of great value, not only as a history of Lesotho, but also as a real literary production. Throughout the book the facts are sound and criticism is given in an impartial spirit. It is the homely touch that lends charm to the book, and makes it so valuable. The book is written for the Basotho children by one who loved them, who knew them and was a master of their language. There is a sincere attempt to awaken in the children a love for their nation, for their language and for their national traditions.

What adds charm to the book are the sayings by and about Moshoeshoe. A few are mentioned here :—

*Ke'na Moshoeshoe, moshoashoaila oa ha Kali, lebeola le beotseng Ramonaheng litelu.* (It is I, Moshoeshoe, the sharp pot-scraper of Kali's, the razor that shaved Ramonaheng's beard.)

*Motse ho aha oa Morapeli.* (This could be construed as meaning "It is the man of faith that builds up a state," or "It is the man of tact (statesman) who builds up the state.")

*Ha u otla ntja, e ka tšoha e u loma.* (If you hit a dog, it might bite you.)

*Majoro, nka thipa u sehe naha.* (Major (Warden), take a knife and cut (apportion) the country.)

Most of the above books were written by European Missionaries, members of the Paris Evangelical Mission. In the following sections we are introduced to the great Basotho writers.

### (iii) FOLK LORE AND CUSTOM.

Under this heading, there are two great works and one minor one literally. The larger one, by E. Jacottet, *Litšomo tsa Lesotho*, in two volumes, is a collection of the old grandfather and grandmother tales told to children around the fire of an evening, and even narrated at the communal fire of the men.

The stories were written down exactly as they were told, with all their quaintness and naiveté. What adds to the charm of the stories are the refrains which in olden days were chanted by the narrator, while the audience joined in their repetition. This work will always be a source of delight to all readers of Sesotho, big and small, in years to come, and, like the wonderful Tales from Grimm, will enliven many a gathering round the fire on a winter's evening.

Another great value of these *Lišomo* is that they reveal the mind of the old Basotho to us. They are genuine folk tales, stories from and by the people. In them are stored up the wisdom, experience and observations of the people of old. The animal stories (fables) especially show what keen observers of Nature and of animals these old people were.

Each story has a moral, usually the conquest of Virtue over Vice, of Good over Bad. It is shown, for instance, that obedience in a child or wife bears reward, while disobedience brings punishment. Murder will out. Patience wins in the end, though it may be slow at the beginning. Cleverness, or, rather, cunning, is a great attribute, although the methods adopted by some of the actors would not always gain approval.

The other work, *Raphepheng*, is by a Mosotho author, and is a valuable book on Sotho antiquities. As a literary production it has its faults, and in some ways it compares unfavourably with the *Litšomo*.

We are indebted to Zakea D. Mangoaela, another great author, and once a great friend of Segoete, the writer of *Raphepheng*, for a very interesting account of the author's life. A translation of the account is given here, and in the appendix the original letter is reproduced.

#### EVERITT LECHESA SEGOETE.

Amongst the sons of his family he was the second. He was the son of Manoah Segoete. He was born in the year 1858, during the "War of Senekal," while the Boers were burning some of the villages of Lesotho. That is how it came about that he received the name of Lechesa (Burning). He was born at Morifi, at Posholi's (on the other side of the Caledon River towards Herschel).

His father, who at that time was a renegade, returned to the Church, and settled near the Moruti (missionary) at Maphutseng. That is where Lechesa began to attend school off-and-on. Afterwards he went with his parents to Masitisi, whither the Revd. D. F. Ellenberger had gone from Maphutseng to build a station. His grandfather called him back, however, because his (Lechesa's) elder brother, Azariele Phooko Segoete, was ready to enter the "Mountain School" (Moriya), which had just been founded, and so Lechesa was needed to herd his grandfather's goats, in the same manner as his elder brother had done. In the meantime, his own father had died.

I still remember the way in which he behaved when he received his first shirt. His mother had procured one for him by working for the Baruti. In the evening, when he came home from the veld—it was already after sunset—the glad news was told to him. It was said : “ You will see it better to-morrow, for it is dark in the house, even though the fire is burning.” Poor fellow ! he could hardly control himself. He must try it on. My word, he was glad, for only a mere handful of boys at Moriya could boast of a shirt, and the usual form of dress was the skin of an ox or a goat. He took his shirt while his mother was engaged elsewhere and went out—into the rain, if you please. He slunk round to the back of the hut, took off his ox skin in the rain and put on his shirt, pressing himself up against the wall of the hut, for he was afraid that the precious shirt would be soaked by the rain. Then he went back into the hut as pleased as could be.

Lechesa was a naughty boy and full of mischief. Yet he was rarely caught doing mischief or stealing. He was always to be found among those who stole fowls and grilled them at night, or amongst those who went to rob the gardens of the Baruti. From the manner in which he grew up as a boy, one would never have dreamt that he would become a man destined to do great things for his nation and for his Church.

Afterwards he went to the Mountain School, and there he studied well, for he was clever. It was at the time when this school had just begun. The food was “ miele-pap ” (stiff), which was pressed down into basins or dishes. Meat was a thing of perhaps. Lechesa used to tell us how they, the small boys amongst so many stronger boys, often went to bed hungry or went through a whole day without nourishment. The dish of food was placed on the ground and the boys crowded round it. Then arms were stretched out to break off pieces with the fingers. If the arms were too short to reach the dish, their owners got nothing. The stronger boys had it all. They pushed aside the arms of the weaker boys or snatched away whatever the latter had in their hands, so that these were left sucking and licking the crumbs that adhered to the tips of their fingers—nay, but he studied and passed his teachers’ examinations and obtained his certificate.

He was well grounded in Christian teaching by his mother at home, by the Baruti at school and in their little gatherings. But in his youth he did not assimilate much.

One day he was nearly drowned in the Caledon River while he was on some errand to Qhuithing, but he escaped in some manner we do not know. At Moriya it was rumoured that he had been drowned in the river, and so when he came back and was passing through the fields before Moriya, he greeted people, but many of them were frightened and some even ran away from him. Yet he told me that even this miraculous escape did not have any effect on him spiritually.

Afterwards Everitt Segoete went on a tour to the Cape Colony with a boon companion. This is where, we may say, his life changed.

How ?—Through the difficulties and temptations he encountered there and endured. In those days the towns of the Cape Colony had not yet grown so large ; the country was wild and sparsely inhabited. If one reads the book *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouane*, which was written by him, one soon realises that much of what one reads about Khitsane actually happened to Segoete in the Cape Colony. He was put in prison through the trickery of another man. He fell into the hands of murderers, but escaped in a miraculous manner. He was hungry, he was robbed, he was a fugitive from justice in towns and in forests through faults of his own and those of other people. But enough. Let us but mention that in time he returned to Lesotho at the instigation of the wife of a Moruti who found him working like an ordinary labourer on the roads.

He did some work at the printing press in Moriya. Then he went away and worked at the printing of some other paper (I forgot the name) at Aliwal North, where he met the girl who later became his wife. At this time he was a changed man, he had been converted and brought to wisdom by the troubles which had befallen him in the Colony.

After this he came back again to Lesotho. He obtained the post as principal teacher, with an assistant, at Komokomong, Masitise. There he did good work both in the school and in the church, and made the work grow tremendously. While he was there he was selected for the ministry and was asked to submit himself for training

at the Seminary in Moriya. After passing through his period of training, he became a minister in the Church of Lesotho at Hermone, Koeneng, and again at Hermone, where he died.

He was a wonderful and powerful preacher, yet clear, for his were sermons of a man who had faith, who had personal experience, who had understanding. He was a genuine kind of man who won respect, for in him were sincerity, charity, love and faith in full measure. Read the book *Pitseng*, by Thomas Mofolo, and compare Mr. Katse with Moruti Everitt Segoete, and you will get to know faith, love, charity—and the works of Everitt Lechesa Segoete.

Everyone who has read this account of the great Mosotho cannot but feel regard for him, but after reading his works, there can be nothing but love for the author. His two works are *Raphepheng* and *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane*. The first of these is dealt with in this section, and the other will be dealt with in the section entitled "Novels."

“ RAPHEPHENG,”  
or  
“ The Life of the Basotho of Long Ago.”

By EVERITT LECHESA SEGOETE.

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In his foreword the author says :—

“ . . . I have tried (even though I am not a man of understanding) to collect some of the things about the Basotho, about birds, about grasshoppers and about riddles. Now I give you these in my little booklet so that you may examine, interpret and add to it wherever I have fallen short, once you have read the book. If it is printed a second time, I hope it will be full of things that come from you (the reader) . . . ”

Then he introduces Raphepheng, “ An old Mosotho ”—

“ . . . He does not wear clothes, he has none. But he does wear an ox skin doubled up, and sometimes he is to be seen under a hat made of ‘ *lesuoane* ’ grass, the real hat of the Basotho of old. He is shrewd and talks very rapidly. He has no gaps in his teeth. His teeth have been worn down into the gums and only the short irregular stumps of teeth are left. A Mosotho emphasises his statements by invoking his chief, and by this he signifies that what he says is final, it is the truth. Raphepheng is such a man. On all occasions he swears by his overlord, he catches hold of his beard goaty), shakes his head and says, “ He-he-hee, nay, by Makhabanee . . . ”

The song-of-praise (*lithoko*) to Makhabanee is the following :—

Lord of the village of Makhabanee,  
Hero that broke down the doors  
Of those of Kali and Ramosala’s—  
Mother-of-the-rooks,  
Lord-of-the-ravens—  
He has plucked the tail feathers of the black birds,  
The Bull-of-Ntisane and Lekhoane . . . .      (R. pp. 4-6.)

Having introduced us to Raphepheng, the author lets him tell us all about the Basotho of old :—

“ . . . Now Raphepheng goes on ; he plunges into his narrative for he loves it. He begins to describe the appearance of the Mosotho and says, ‘ The people of to-day : although it is said that they are Basotho, I do not believe I shall ever see it ’ . . . ”

We are told that the Basotho of long ago were not afraid to show their beautiful bodies :—

“ . . . When I speak of forms,” Raphepheng says, “ I mean beauty of body which was not hidden by these sacks of clothes. To-day men and women creep into bags and one no longer sees beautiful young men, slender of limb . . . ” (R. p. 7.)

Long ago men were strong “ and not sickly weeds of people like to-day, who are suddenly taken ill, even in the middle of the day.”

There were men strong and brave in war.

The women, too, could endure more physical exertion, so that even the cannibals must own that it was difficult to overpower a woman.

The customs of old, so we are told, were good. Food was not sold for money. A guest was hospitably entertained, and no matter who he was, he slept in the house-for-travellers. Early next morning he was allowed to go his way without let or hindrance.

“ . . . He-he-hee, nay, by Makhabanee, are those things still found to-day ? The Basotho of to-day love one another no more, they do not get to know one another ; each man lives in his own house with his wifelet and together they consume the head of a goat. Nay, by Makhabanee.” (R. p. 11.)

Next are described the activities of the Basotho of long ago. In all their works they helped one another. They ploughed together, cultivated the fields, made large grain bags, sewed karosses . . . and so assisted one another, “ . . . for it was said : a cow belongeth not to one man alone, a cow is the possession of all men, its lowing reaches us even if we are far away.”

Women also worked and helped one another.

Raphepheng now passes on to the food of the old people :—

“ Nay, the Basotho had not many kinds of food, but those kinds which the Mosotho used to cultivate suited him, nourished him, made him fat, and it was through these that the Basotho had bodies strong and muscular.”

The tilling of the fields for Mabele and Mealies, the sowing of these crops, their cultivation and harvesting are next described in detail. Raphepheng also touches upon the “ beans-of-the-Basotho ” (cow peas), and on the cultivation of tobacco.

“ . . . And Raphepheng went further and said : ‘ Nay, by Makhabanee, the Basotho of long ago used to eat very wholesome food.’ Then I interrupted him and said : ‘ Ue, Raphapheng, what foods were those which were better than those of to-day ? ’

“ And he looked at me with a frown and a scowl and said, ‘ What wholesome foods are eaten to-day ? Do you mean these sugars that rob people of their teeth ? ’

“ I kept quiet, for I saw that I might spoil things.” (R. p. 21.)

The dishes prepared from Mabele and Mealie Meal are then described very fully.

The first section of the book deals entirely with the Basotho of old, the work of the men and the women, their clothes, their war songs, their treasured and valued possessions, musical instruments and games.

Next follows a long list of the birds of Lesotho. Of great interest are the little songs, which are both wonderfully descriptive of the ways and manners of the birds and are also onomatopoeic. The following are examples chosen at random :—

R. p. 53.

The Hawk.

*Shake-shake the wing,  
Snatch away the bile of the Motiyane,  
At eventide take that of the lark.  
Sher-r-re, sher-r-re, whizz, black hawk !  
I trod on wet manure, slipped and fell.  
The hawk is there where the road dips down  
Tearing to pieces the remains of a dove.*

R. p. 49.

The Crows.

*Xoa, xoa, it is calling Lord Vulture,  
Xoa, xoa, let him come to open the bowels.  
Let us eat !  
Xoa, xoa, a thin mangy cur has died !*

R. p. 55.

The Bald Ibis—Mokhotlo.

*Mokhotlo, Mokhotlo,  
Our cattle have just gone out to graze  
Where are our cattle ?*

R. p. 57

Pinyane.

*Pinyane, you little dandy,  
You take a twig and thatch with it,  
Imagine you can rival masianoke (hamerkop).  
Masianoke is inimitable,  
He is of the kin of the dwellers-by-the-lonely-pools.  
He takes his twigs one by one.*

Now we hear some of the riddles of the Basotho. Asking riddles is a favourite game and pastime. The competition is keen, and any man is permitted to ask riddles until one of the audience guesses the answer correctly. The one who has been able to answer is then allowed a turn to set riddles.

Some of the riddles are clear and very clever and naive. Others, again, would not appeal to the European because their construction depends entirely upon the manner in which the Basotho interpret phenomena. The following are some of the more common riddles :

R. A man, who when he speaks, his children run away.

A. The gun.

R. The wizards are dancing in the cave.

A. Ears of corn (being roasted in a pot).

- R. Who are the men who never put their sticks from them?*  
 A. The dogs (and their tails).  
*R. The bird which leaves its eggs and flies away.*  
 A. The smoke leaving the fire.  
*R. The wizards are killing one another in the reeds.*  
 A. Hail.

The chapter on locusts and grasshoppers takes the form of a great *pitso* (meeting), in which all the locusts come together to choose a king. Amongst those present are : *Khopi* (kicker), *Seroala-nkhoana* (carrier-of-a-little-pitcher, the mantis). *Tsiana-tšoana* (black-little-locust), *Leshomokho* (the grasshopper whose saliva is put in baby's mouth to make it good), *Monyeletsane*, *Senkohone*, *Tsie*, *Tšitoe* (the expositor of all discussions—*Tsitoe* is also the name given to December, when this grasshopper sings all day long), *Rutle-la-thaba*, *Setlonoно*, *'Mantsenene* and others.

After much discussion, *'Mantsenene* is chosen as chief. He is a vicious, morose individual and rules his people with great cruelty. Thus do people only obey and respect those who are stronger than they.

The names of the locusts and grasshoppers are given here to show that the Basotho of old studied even the small creatures in Nature. Like the birds, the grasshoppers have little songs attached to them. These are also descriptive of their habits, and are often embodied in proverbs and proverbial sayings applicable to man.

Take, for example, *Khopi*. Of him it is said :

*Khopi is kicked by his own fatness,*  
*Khopi is carrying a little horn in his heart.*

This saying is applicable to a man who has a good billet but leaves it for no apparent reason. Very often European employers are puzzled to know why their native servants leave them. They can find no fault with their own treatment of them. If some other native were asked why his compatriot had left, he would reply :—

*Khopi e rahoа ke monono,*  
*Khopi e roetse lenakana pelong.*

Tsitoe is for ever singing, and so he enters the meeting with a song :—

*Why are you crying-ing-ing?*  
*I am carrying you-ou-ou*  
*In the little skin-kin-kin*  
*Of your auntie-tie-ties.*

The last section of the book deals with the moral and communal life of the Basotho and contains chapters on each of the following : The religion of the Basotho, their medical craft and the different kinds of knuckle bones, the *leollo* (novitiate rites), birth and the rearing of children, marriage, justice and judgment . . . and Raphepheng ends with his favourite : “ *He-he-hee, che, Makhabanee !* ”

To one who knows Sesotho, this book is more than a scientific treatise. In this manner it is worth much more than the collection of customs and proverbs (*Mekhoa le Maele*) by Sekese, for here one has the “ atmosphere ” of the Basotho of old reproduced naturally. It would be very difficult to translate the work, because so much depends on the manner in which everything is expressed, and one has to feel, rather than understand, the significance of many passages.

Raphepheng means *Father-of-the-Scorpion*, and in many cases the sting is bitter. Yet Raphepheng is a lovable old bear, notwithstanding his complaints and bitter criticism of the modern generation. The world has run away and has left him lonely and desolate. There are but few contemporaries, and even fewer people of the modern generation, who have the patience and sympathy to listen to the old man.

Cast in this form, the book implies, rather than expresses, a severe rebuke against our civilisation. We have overthrown nearly all that is Bantu, and have given the people nothing in return. Our civilisation has been a disintegrating factor in the lives of the Bantu, and to-day they are divided into two camps. Some cling tenaciously to the old, and consequently lag behind in the onward march. The great majority have outrun the old civilisation and are running blindly into destruction. Raphepheng’s voice comes like the call of the *Mankoetlana* (mourning dove) out of Nature’s hidden recesses, and calls in vain.

#### (iv) SHORT STORIES.

There are two collections of short stories, viz., *Har'a Libatana le Linyamatsane*, by Z. D. Mangoaela, and *Mehla ea Malimo*, by E. Motsamai.

We have a fairly full account of Mangoaela’s life, but have unfortunately only been able to glean very little from Motsamai.

## ZAKEA D. MANGOAELA (Autobiographical).

In our home I was the sixth child, and there was a seventh after me. Altogether we were five sons and two daughters.

I was born at Hohobeng (Palmietfontein, Herschel) in the year 1883, but the day and the month are not known, for, although my parents had become Christians long before this, they were not educated people, my father being able to read only Sesotho, but unable to write. That year was the jubilee year of our church, and mother was carrying me on her back at the feast, for I was a child of four or five months old. The feast was held at Masitise, Quithing, in the month of June, 1883, after it had been held at Moriya in May, 1883. I was baptised by Mruti D. F. Ellenberger at Masitise in that same year.

I grew up like all boys amongst the Basotho in those days. I looked after the calves when I was four or five years old, kept away the calf during the milking, and separated the calves from the cows. During the day my companions and I drove our herds to the hills where there was grass in plenty. While the calves and horses were grazing steadily without moving about, we made clay oxen and horses, skipped with a skipping rope or ran races. I was very fast, because I was an exceptionally strong boy and sound in bodily health.

I suppose I began to go to school during those years of 1883 or 1889. I do not remember the period very well. But what I do remember is reading the "A B C." We used to read these letters of the alphabet from a large sheet hung up on the walls. The letters were somewhat big, and illustrated with drawings: "A" stood for the tree that built the ark, "B" stood for the wasp (*bobi*) that buszed *bo-bo-bo*... We read after the teacher or after someone who could lead us whenever the teacher left us. If anybody looked around, we did not hesitate to report him. That was the beginning of my education. After school we used to go to the calves and horses, and penned the calves before the cattle came home. We ran about outside in the nude. It was only on rainy days or when it was cold that we put on a cloak of goat- or sheep-skin. I used to put on a shirt when I went to school, but after school I quickly took it off again and put it away so that I could not tear it too quickly or soil it during our play. This was a stern command from mother in regard to that article of clothing of mine.

My years of boyhood were spent in this manner until I was eleven years old and in Std. III. In Lesotho an examination is held every year for Stds. II. and IV. (also for Stds. V. and VI. nowadays). I had to go to Masitise alone from our school to sit for the examination. Somebody accompanied me on horseback, but I found that the examination had already begun, because we had delayed too long in starting from home.

In the following year I went with two others. I was always first in my class. I passed well and received a bursary. In the year 1895 I passed my Std. IV. examination in the same manner.

Father and the teacher wanted me to go to the secondary school at Moriya. Our Moruti said that I was still too young and that I should not be admitted. In the year 1895 I was at Masitise with my former teacher, Mr. Josia Khiba, who had been transferred from Hohobeng while Mr. Vicanor Tlale was placed in his post; The teacher made me take Std. IV. over again, although I had passed in the examination. I now gained a more thorough understanding of the work through which I had passed. That was in the year 1896. In 1897 in July I was sent to the Mountain School, Moriya, from Masitise, where I had been staying while I was growing big enough for Mr. Dyke, the principal of the school, to admit me. Thus did my secondary education begin. I passed my first-year teachers' examination in 1899, the second in 1901. (I had been disobedient and had kept bad company, and so the principal punished me by making my father keep me at home at work for the whole year 1900.) In 1901 I returned to school and was first in my class till 1902, when I passed my third-year (P.T. 3).

I was always a very keen student, but my father, who was already old, had not the means to send me to Lovedale, where I wished to continue my studies. I commenced to teach and to act as evangelist and catechist in the Maloti of Lesotho, where heathenism was "*tsoo*" (pitch black), in the year 1903.

I omitted to say that from my youth I was very fond of reading. Besides the Bible and a hymn book, my father had a book called *Phutollo ea Mantsoe a Bibele* (Explanation of the Words of the Bible), and also the *Leselinyane* (the newspaper published by the P.E.M.S.), because father was an evangelist and catechist. I shall not be far wrong in saying that these books and the *Leselinayne* were read more by me than by anyone else in our home. I was continually hunting for the old copies of the paper in our house and re-read them. And so I grew up with a love for reading and a longing to know of the things of the past. I may say that nothing has helped me so much as my reading, both at school and in my present life.

In 1907 I was appointed to the school at Koeneng, where Everitt Lechesa Segoete was Moruti, one of the Baruti for whom I had great respect and love on account of his great Christian zeal and of the work he has done for our Church. We became great friends and companions. He helped me a great deal in my spiritual life and in many other ways. While I was at Koeneng, I married my wife, Bernice, the daughter of Mor. B. Sekokoyoana, who is still alive to-day. She has been a great help to me in my life, a great help, greater than any other.

In 1910, in May, Mor. S. Dube asked me to come to help him in his work at the Moriya Book Depôt, and in the Bible School. It was as though God had granted me to slake my thirst for reading, for studying and for writing. He (Dube) had come into touch with me on several occasions and in several ways, as follows :—

(i) I had just written the *Lipaliso tsa Sesotho*, which are being read in the schools of Lesotho to-day. Of these I wrote *Paliso ea Bana*, *Paliso ea Pele*, *Paliso ea Boraro*, while I was still a young man in the Maloti.

(ii) He had heard from Mor. Segoete that it was I who was helping him (Segoete) to write the articles for the *Leselinyane*.

And so I came to the Book Depôt to help in the printing of the *Leselinyane*, to read all the proofs of the books which were being printed at Moriya, to reply to the letters of all the people who were buying books from the Depôt, to make out invoices and to keep the books, to teach in the Bible School, and be of general assistance in the correspondence about books that were being printed at Moriya. Since 1910 that has been my work, except for the printing of the *Leselinyane* and for the actual selling, which I have since abandoned to younger men. I have supervised the printing of the *Leselinyane*, the books and the pamphlets for the young and for the women, which are printed here, and it has been my work to translate for the Basotho matters and books in Sesotho.

As regards my writings, I have written my books so that the Basotho may preserve some of the tales and events of long ago. I felt that in the same manner as I loved to read and thus got to know much, it would be well if the present generation and future generations would gain a love for reading, and would thus be encouraged to know things. I am convinced that that is what is going to strengthen our patriotism. This was my aim, especially when I wrote *Tsoelopele ea Lesotho* (the progress of Lesotho) and *Lithoko tsa Marena a Lesotho* (the songs-of-praise to the chiefs of Lesotho). As for the book *Har'a Libatana le Linyamatsane*, I was moved to write it out of love for a story, because I wished to preserve for future generations the deeds and the life of our men of old. I may say that my aim can be thus summarised : To preserve for the nation some of our stories, to make a Mosotho love what is his own, and to arouse a love for books and for reading in our nation.

I have almost finished telling you what you have asked me to say. I am unable to tell you all as I should have liked to do, because you are in a hurry for a reply. Let me but end by saying that I began life with the aim of entering for the ministry. But I departed from this, for I saw that my calling was for the life which I am leading now, a writer and assistant with the publication of Sesotho books.

I have a family, three daughters and two sons. My daughters are grown up and have completed their education in the institutions in Natal. Three children are still at home and are still studying. The two eldest are teaching in our schools at Moriya and Kolo.

**HAR'A LIBATANA LE LINYAMATSANE.**

(Amongst the beasts and animals.)

By Z. D. Mangoaela.

This collection contains 54 short stories about the adventures of hunters and travellers with wild animals.

In his foreword, the author thanks the Revd. E. Jacottet for "rousing in me the desire to write," and he also thanks Bethuel Ralitau and Abraham Lehlonya for supplying the material for many of these stories. Other people are also mentioned, including A. M. Sekese, another author.

In his introductory chapter, the author makes mention of the times when Lesotho was a wild country. He tells us that he knows the country in and out.

"... Tales of wild beasts and animals," he goes on to say, "are like fairy tales to-day. We still have a few leopards in the Maloti which but serve to remind us of the times in which our fathers lived. Hard times, those—times of beasts-of-prey, of cannibals, of great wars, and of hunting."

"And now that these times have passed and are gone for ever, who will take the trouble to live again in them, to remember them if he knows anything about them? Who will take pains that we should picture to our children of to-day, and to those who are yet to be born, the times of the beasts and the animals?"

The most common methods employed by hunters, we are told, were drives and pitfalls (traps).

"It was in those days that the great hunting song was sung : ' Little God, pray to the old God of old . . .' Next day men went to their traps and found the pits full of game that had fallen into them ; and now the knife sang and there was life."

It was thus the writer's aim to conjure up the past and leave a lasting picture. In this he has succeeded beyond expectation. His tales are so vividly alive, because the writer loses himself in the past. The telling of the tale comes naturally to him, and he knows how to reproduce in an easy manner the words of the original narrators.

Judge from these extracts :—

The Baphuti were chasing a leopard, which fled up the mountain by a narrow path. Hoko, one of the band, immediately sprang in pursuit. The others tried to prevent him : "Hela Hokoe," they said, "don't do that, man, whither will you turn if the leopard comes back by this narrow path?"

But Hoko heeded not, and the leopard did turn. . . It twined its nails round him in rage, it had no mercy, it was determined to tear off his head, for it had hold of his face and his head.

Then could one have heard Hoko yelling : "Help, help, it has hold of me ; it is seizing me, help !" But the other men, hard-hearted fellows, laughed : "How is it ? Has it really seized you ? But we told you so."

But Hoko determined to behave like a man and to push the leopard off : " Oho, help, the leopard is killing me, men ! "

Then he tried guile : " Hey, hurry up, I have hold of it," he said.

Eventually the leopard tired of the sport and left Hoko tattered and torn. (*Hoko le Nkoe*, pp. 84-87.)

Ralitau went one morning early to look at his traps. He saw a crow fly up and settle again, and went to see what it was.

When he arrived he saw a wildebeest dead, and at the same time his eyes " said pjang " with a lion, which was squatting next to the wildebeest, eating it. Now a lion never gives a man a chance once it has caught sight of him, but goes for him at once. Ralitau wheeled and fled without looking back. The lion caught him up and as it was in the act of seizing him, he side-stepped to the right, and at the same time whacked it over the head with his knobkerrie, but not before the lion had tapped him sore with its left paw. As he side-stepped, Ralitau slipped out of his blanket and left that for the lion. Then he fled for all he was worth.

As soon as the lion realised that its victim had gone, it was after him as fast as it could run. It caught him up and held him down with its claws dug into his loins. So it stood over him, pinning him down, eyes ablaze, but not looking at him.

" Now Ralitau's heart was full (angry), the man of the Bakhatla, and he decided to fight even though he was the underdog. He folded up his legs, stiffened his muscles and kicked the lion in its chest with both his heels, and made the lion face round whence it had come. Khele Lion ! It cleared for all it was worth, and with a bound disappeared over the rise, tail in the air . . ." (*Ralitau le Tau*, pp. 21-24.)

Lesenya and three friends were out hunting. Suddenly they saw an antbear and let loose the dogs at it.

*Ao, it (antbear) did not like to see those dogs :  
Antbear, mother-of-the-cloudlets of the Earth,  
Digger of many holes for others,  
Animal that does no one any harm,  
Animal that lazes when the sun is up.*

It came to a hole which was not deep enough. Only its head went in and already the dogs were on it. The antbear began to dig quickly, as is the custom of antbears, and just as its shoulders were disappearing Lesenya arrived, having outstripped his companions in the race. Lesenya tried to stab it with his spear, but could not even pierce the skin, it went on digging until Lesenya's companions arrived and began to belabour it with their knobkerries. Still the antbear went on digging.

As for the companion-of-Lesenya's companions (Lesenya himself), his heart was full. He clung to the antbear's tail—by this time, that was all that was visible. But when the antbear felt the arms of Lesenya, it pulled its tail tightly into its thighs and with it the fingers of the man of Masenya. Now Lesenya yelled out : " Ichu ! Ichu ! "

The antbear strained every nerve to disappear into the hole together with the arms of Lesenya, which were tightly wedged on to its tail.

The other men left off digging and tried to release Lesenya from the hindquarters of the antbear. If they pulled, a yell went up : " Oho, steady, you are hurting me !" So the men were at a loss, for they did not know how to release a man from an antbear.

Then one of them, Ramohomane it was, said : “ Oho, men, bring a knife and let us sever the hamstrings of the antbear so that it can no longer use its hindlegs to strain.” This they did, and it let go. . . . (*Lesenya le Thakali*, pp. 169-171.)

One would wish to give more extracts, but lack of space does not permit of this. The extracts are typical of the author’s style—vivid, picturesque, alive, and, above all, the tale is told with obvious enjoyment. The author is conjuring up the past “ for our children and for the children yet to be born.”

#### EDWARD MOTSAMAI (Autobiographical).

I was born at Masite in May, 1870.

I was educated at Moriya and passed the Teachers’ Examination with Honours in 1888. From that year I continued my studies under the tuition of Mrs. Dyke. I was studying while teaching in the Mountain School and in the Bible School, from 1889 to 1892.

In 1893 I prepared myself for the ministry while I was teaching in the Bible School. In 1900 I was ordained at Thabana Morena. Before my ordination I worked with Mor. A. Casalis in the Book Dépot for three years, from 1896 to 1899, for I had lost my voice and could not speak. While I was considering to abandon the ministry the synod sent me to the Maloti, and my voice was strengthened by the mountain air. From that time to now, I have been in the ministry.

As regards my aim in writing books, I was moved to it by the love of telling others what I found and of trying to preserve some of the past. The man who helped me tremendously in this work was the late Mor. Jacottet.

That is all about my life.

It is a pity that Motsamai has not favoured us with a longer account of his life, for a man who has been able to write a book like *Mehla ea Malimo* must have had many varied experiences.

#### MEHLA EA MALIMO.

(The Times of the Cannibals.)

By Edward Motsamai.

This collection contains eighteen stories in all. They are prefaced with a brief but valuable sketch picturing the period of general unrest—the Great Bantu Migration.

In it the writer mentions that tribes were dispersed and scattered never to unite again; wild beasts, especially lions and wolves, roamed at large. People stood in superstitious awe of the wolf, whom nobody dared to kill, and even to-day children are frightened with the threat : “ There is the wolf, it will eat you ! ” and there is a saying : “ He has been eaten by the wolf,” meaning that he has fallen upon evil times. (Thomas Mofolo—see Novels—devotes a whole chapter to the wolf in his book *Chaka*.)

So perilous were the times that no man dared to undertake a journey unless he was armed with spear and shield. Devastation brought about hunger, and ravenous men fed on one another and so became cannibals. Having once eaten human flesh they craved for the same kind of flesh ever after.

The writer vouches for the truth of all these stories. The following paragraph furnishes a clue for the whole book :—

“ Even if these stories are all true, and fearsome, yet to-day they do not affright us as much, for there are many such in the world. Still, we do feel goose-fleshy when we tell the story of another man, for we feel as though we are actually seeing him with our own eyes entering into danger, and again escaping therefrom. *The story of one man is often sufficient to picture to us the times in which that man lived.* ”

The last paragraph shows the origin of the stories. The author says :—

“ We shall try in this book to narrate to the reader some of the events of long ago in the manner in which our old people pictured them to us ; some are fearsome, some are humorous, and some contain a good moral.”

Thirteen of the eighteen stories deal with encounters with cannibals, and the other five speak of encounters with wild beasts, namely, with the lion and the wolf.

One of the latter stories will be of great interest to the European reader, and we give a translation here :—

“ . . . We hear that long ago, at the time of the Roman Empire, the story is told of one Androcles, who helped a lion which had been pricked by a thorn. Here in Lesotho a similar event took place.

A man called Sesiu was one day very tired and terribly hungry. He came to a pool of water and lay down to drink. While he was bending over, he felt something pat him. He did not leap up in haste, but gazed into the water, and there he saw the reflection of a lion before his eyes. While he was wondering what to do, he again felt the lion pat him. He could not decide if he ought to feign death so that it should think he was a corpse.

Again it patted him. Then he decided to stand up and see what it would do to him. When their eyes met, he noticed that it was stretching out its paw towards him. He examined the paw and saw a mimosa thorn sticking in the sole. He tried to pull it out with his hand, but the thorn would not yield. He tried again, but the thorn would not come. In the end he seized the thorn with his teeth, the paw with both hands and tugged till the thorn came out, and blood flowed from the wound left by the thorn. Then the lion lay down and licked off the blood which flowed out of its paw.

The man stood up and made up his mind to run away. The lion jumped up and barred his way. Again he tried to take to his heels in another direction, but the lion stopped him. And so the lion prevented him from going to right or to left. The man was surprised. When he saw that there was nothing else to be done, he walked straight ahead as the lion directed him. So he walked along with the lion behind him till he came to the end of the hill. Arrived there, the two ran into a herd of wildebeest. Sesiu saw the lion leap and set off at a great pace. It hurled itself into the midst of the herd, seized a wildebeest and killed it.

The man tried to turn aside and leave the tracks of the lion. It saw him, ran to cut him off and brought him back to the game it had killed. Now he began to realise that the lion was inviting him to a feast. When he came to the fallen wildebeest, the lion stood still, then lay down to see what he would do. He took out his knife and cut off the leg of the wildebeest and added some of the meat from the ribs. He carried these a little to one side where there was firewood and kindled a fire. Then he grilled the meat an' ate . . . ”

After this the lion approached the game and ate its fill, leaving the man unmolested.

The other stories have much in common. A man or a woman falls into the hands of the cannibals. These drag him or her to the haunts and there proceed to shave his head. Then they feed the captive on human flesh so that he should have much blood to be cooked (*bobete*). The manner in which the captives escape is sometimes very ingenious and often amusing. We give a few examples. The methods of escape vary from sheer physical bravery to subtle guile.

It was by guile, for instance, that Ramalitse, the son of Motsoari, escaped. He began to sing his own praises with the necessary actions :—

*The vulture of Mabitso (he chanted),  
Son of Motsoari,  
Found a good thing  
But will never eat it,  
Riches are eaten by men,  
Those of Ramaqhamane . . .*

He had been locked up in a courtyard and cannibals barred the door. While he was leaping about and singing his own praises, the cannibals watched him fascinatedly. Suddenly he leaped on the door of a house and over the stockade. Then he ran for dear life and escaped.

In the story *Mosele le Malimo* (No. XIV) we find four men driven into a cave for shelter from a band of cannibals.

“ Early in the morning the cannibals attacked them from all sides. The four men took their shields and hurled themselves on the cannibals with all their might. The cannibals scattered and broke into two groups. The men killed some and took away their spears. In this manner did they scatter the cannibals.”

A touching story is the one entitled *Maria le Tau* (Maria and the Lioness).

The village in which Maria lived was taken by surprise by a band of Matabele. Maria was left as dead amongst the corpses. When the Matabele had gone past, she recovered and crawled into a hollow cavern covered with grass. In this cavern was a lioness with young ones, and Maria feared that she had escaped from the Matabele only to fall into the mouth of the lioness.

“ But the lioness did not touch her, but only gazed at her with her eyes, and went on suckling her young.”

As Maria was crawling into the cave, the Matebele came back. One of them saw her, came near to the cave and yelled out : “ Come out of the cave, you Mosotho, and let me see you ! ”

"Then the woman saw the lioness change ; her eyes flashed, she growled and became truly angry. She jumped up and fiercely leaped upon the Letebele and killed him. As soon as she had killed the man, she came back to her young in the cave, lay down, and nothing further happened."

The author has undoubtedly given us a good picture of the times and of the conditions under which the people lived. Frequent inroads by the Matebele and unexpected attacks by the cannibals made life very unsafe. Only the fittest survived—the fittest physically and mentally. Yet the elements of chance and fate are not omitted.

In the telling of his stories, Motsamai preserves an evenness of tone, a matter-of-factness, which, although it holds the attention of the reader, does not rouse him. The stories lack climax, and what could be most thrilling moments pass by before one is aware of them. The cause does not lie in the story itself, nor in its plot, but in the peculiar style of the author. His sentences are polished and almost trite. Strangely enough for a Mosotho, there is a lack of figure of speech, especially of the hyperbole, simile and elliptical sentence, which characterise the Mosotho teller-of-tales, and makes the hearer (or the reader) actually live in the tale told. The stories, one feels, are probably summaries of longer tales.

A comparison of the two authors would not be out of place. Both works deal with *mehla ea lifaqane*, or the times of great calamities. There is a similarity of purpose and theme in the two books. Incidents must of necessity recur, and similar situations must arise over and over again, when men fall into dangerous situations caused by either wild beasts or cannibals. The reader is therefore advised to reserve the stories as tit-bits—bedtime or round-the-fire stories. It is wonderful how, under such circumstances, interest revives, and with what enjoyment one reads every new story.

This, then, the two writers have in common—kindred themes and similarity of aim. In other respects there is a wide difference between them.

Motsamai, as has been said before, tells the story and relies on the plot alone to interest the reader. Incidents follow upon incidents rapidly and smoothly. The language is faultless and polished, but not embellished.

One can picture Mangoaela telling his story, animatedly waving his arms about. All the typical figures of speech appear in his tales, and he knows how to use the elliptical sentence very effectively.

Statements like the following are far more impressive than minute descriptions :—

He heard a dog : “ *Habu!* ”

They scattered and entered their homes, not one of them running with another, there being no two running together.

He came out having a fruit in his gun (bullet), he hit the leopard and threw it down, and somebody said : “ *Ha! ha!* ”

(The last is a wonderful manner of describing the breaking of a tension—it is a hysterical laugh.)

Of the two, Mangoaela then is more typically Mosotho, and is therefore destined to keep alive the old Basotho customs, culture and method of telling a story much longer than Motsamai.

#### (v) NOVELS.

There are three great novels, one by Segoete entitled *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane*, and two by Thomas Mofolo, viz., *Chaka* and *Moeti oa Bochabela*.

#### MONONO KE MOHOLI KE MOUOANE.

By Everitt Lechesa Segoete.

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In this book the chief character, Khitšane, tells Tim, a wealthy, godless neighbour, his own life story.

Four times Khitšane loses all his worldly belongings. Then he leaves Lesotho and comes into contact with white men. The intricate customs and laws of the white people puzzle and confuse him, and he soon finds himself at variance with the law. Thereafter he meets Malebaleba, an out-and-out scoundrel, versed in all the wiles and tricks by which he can evade the law. Malebaleba leads Khitšane into temptation and eventually causes him to attack a policeman. Khitsane now parts company with Malebaleba and journeys on alone, a fugitive from justice. He escapes from one difficulty only to fall into greater calamities. In this way he journeys from the Rand right down to Queenstown. After a time he again meets Malebaleba, who is now an evangelist, and through him he becomes a Christian. In the end he returns to Lesotho, broken down in health, a cripple with a wooden leg, but happy in his new-found faith.

The story then goes on to picture Khitšane’s death. Khitšane has a vision, and in it he sees a traveller who calls him away to the City of Life. One morning Tim calls on his friend, and finds him in a kneeling attitude but dead.

Tim feels the absence of Khitšane, but misses the story more than the narrator. One Sunday he has an accident. He is entombed in a tunnel while hunting rock-rabbits. After three days' search he is found almost dead. After that he has a wonderful dream about the last of days and the final judgment seat. This leads him to conversion.

The character of Khitšane is well drawn from the days when he is a young man; very sure of himself, till he is an old man with a wooden leg, but happy withal in his spiritual peace. Very touching are the chapters which deal with Khitšane's death. The stranger appears and summons Khitšane to the City of Life, picturing to him the way by which he must travel to eternal happiness. Khitšane hesitates in fear before the gloomy entrance. He wishes to know how he may escape that portal, but is told that there is no other way. With his companion, he enters upon the way, and, beautiful thought, on Easter Day. They enter into the gloom and Khitšane crosses the stream by the stepping stones. The first is entitled *Hope*, the second *Peace*, the third *Gladness*, the fourth *Longing*, and lastly he disappears into the clouds.

Tim is also well pictured. At first we find a good-natured, almost condescending pity for the old cripple. Tim is drawn more by his interest for Khitšane's story than by any desire for conversion. Gradually Khitšane's story sinks in and takes root. Tim becomes restless and begins to doubt. Still Khitsane's death leaves Tim unconvinced ; he merely regrets that he has lost an interesting companion. It is only after he has undergone the ordeal of being entombed for three days, and has seen the uselessness of his wordly possessions that the significance of Khitšane's story strikes him. Now his mind is ready for conversion.

Beautiful is also the idea that it should be the scoundrel Malebaleba who brings Khitšane to conversion.

The title of the book is a fine Sotho saying and means "*Riches are a haze, a mist.*" Like the mists on a summer morning, they fade before the scorching rays of the sun.

Judged as a book only, it is a great creation. It is didactic, but not to excess. Secondly, it gives us a vivid picture of Bantu life, not only in Lesotho, but amongst Europeans. There is no hint of racial animosity. The picture is painted by a man who is intimately acquainted with this life, and gives it to us in a very convincing manner. South Africa needs more such books.

### THOMAS MOFOLO (Autobiographical).

I was born at Khojane, in the region of Mafeteng, in the month of August, 1877. The day of my birth is not known. I was baptised in the Church of Fora (P.E.M.S.) by Moruti H. Dieterlein, who is still in France. I entered the Bible School in 1894; in the month of June, 1896, I entered the Mountain School at Moriya, and in December of that year I passed my First Year Examination. In 1897 I passed the Second Year and the School Elementary. On account of the "Rinderpest" I lacked money for school fees, and wrote and told Mr. Dyke that I was not coming back to school in 1898. During that week I went to the Maloti to bring down horses to take me to work amongst the White People. At dawn I set out to go to work, but when I passed the post office I found a letter from Mr. Dyke which prevented my going and ordered me back to school permitting me to complete my studies "on credit."

I turned back at once and went home to tell my parents of the change in plans. In 1898 I passed my Third Year and Moruti Casalis asked me, while I had still a few months in training, to come to help him in the Book Depôt after I had passed my examination.

I worked there till the end of 1899. In the beginning of 1900 our work ceased, together with the printing works, on account of the war. I went to Leloaleng (Mills) to learn how to do carpentry and was a teacher there for two years. In 1902 I left and became a teacher at Bensonvale Institution. As soon as I arrived Mr. Dyke called me back to Lesotho and appointed me at Maseru. I was a teacher there till the time of peace, when Mr. Casalis engaged me again in the Book Depôt. In left in 1910 and went to Lealui, whither I was drawn by the high wages, but I had to return on account of illness. Then I went to the Rand, where I was engaged in piece work. Mr. Taberer sent me back to Lesotho in 1912 to be labour agent to the Eckstein Group of Mines. I returned to Lesotho with little love for that work, but later I became accustomed to it and actually liked it. In 1922 I became an independent Labour Agent, i.e., I freed myself from my contract with the Eckstein Group of Mines and became an independent Labour Agent with the right to recruit for whomsoever I wanted. I recruited for Mr. Taberer and for the Rand Mines, for the Diamond Mines, Sugar Plantations in Natal, Collieries, Farm-work, etc., etc.

In November, 1925, I opened a branch of my business here (Teyateyaneng), and put my brother, Ben Mofolo, in charge. In 1927 he resigned, and so I left the recruiting business in 1928. I forgot to tell you that in 1916 I bought a Government Portable Steam Engine and Milling Plant, and opened a mill at Ty. This I have now also sold, together with the motor cars attached to the business.

Even though Mofolo has given us very little about his literary aims and aspirations, in his letter, he has revealed himself to us in his works. His works are grand.

The difference between Mofolo and the other authors, except Sekese, is that he does not moralise. He describes, he narrates, he pictures—and leaves it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

His three works are very different from one another. *Chaka* is a historical novel, *Pitseng* may be termed an ethnographical novel, and *Moeti oa Bochabela* is best described as an allegory.

All three novels contain the attributes necessary for great novels. They probe deeply into the human soul, they are full of sympathy for humanity and for man's individuality; and, above all, the author sees romance in every-day life. Mofolo has a wonderful vocabulary and a pleasing choice of words. Some of his chapters are beautiful pen pictures.

*Chaka.*

As the title denotes, this is an historical novel dealing with the life of the great Zulu warrior king and the rise of the Zulu nation. The author gives us quite a new conception of the great chief and a different picture of the times from that generally accepted. Mofolo supplies a reason for Chaka's insane, inhuman cruelty. Let us trace the events in the book :—

In Senzangakona's home there are no male children. Senzangakona is anxious about his successor and determines to marry again. He holds a great feast and at that feast falls in love with Nandi, a beautiful maiden. From an illegitimate union between Senzangakona and Nandi, which is punishable by death, Chaka is born. To hide his guilt, Senzangakona marries Nandi in great haste. When Chaka is born, his father is overjoyed because it is a man-child, and informs Jobe, his overlord, that Chaka is heir to the chieftainship. After this other sons are born, viz., Dingana, Mahlangana—sons of major wives. Now Senzangakona's trouble begins. The major wives threaten to reveal his guilt unless Senzangakona discards Nandi and her son. Chaka has a bad time indeed, for the son of a discarded woman has no protector, and is made the butt of every man's anger and contempt. Yet he shows no fear and besides great physical beauty and strength he is possessed of a noble spirit. While yet a stripling, he kills a lion and later saves a girl from the jaws of a wolf.

Meanwhile, Nandi has her son "doctored" for the chieftainship. Early one morning Chaka is anointed by the Great Serpent of the Deep for his future career as king of all nations. The sorceress Zwidi dies but leaves Chaka in the care of her own master of the same, viz., Isanusi.

Through his acts of bravery, Chaka has put to shame many men, and through his praises by the women he has won many enemies. After saving the girl from the wolf, one of his half-brothers, Mfokazana, attacks him, and a great fight ensues. Dingana also joins in the fight, and other people join in it. Eventually, Chaka conquers his enemies, but Senzangakona arrives on the scene and, yielding to the clamour of his wives, orders Chaka to be killed. Chaka escapes and hides himself in a forest, where he gives himself over to brooding. The result is that he decides that in future he will do whatever he pleases without regard to any person. At this moment, Isanusi comes to him, and further strengthens him in his resolve by telling him that henceforth "Chaka and Mercy must part company, for mercy ever ate its own lord."

Isanusi then sends Chaka to Dingiswayo, the benevolent king, and successor of Jobe, with whom he soon wins fame and favour. Here he is joined by Isanusi's two assistants, Malunga and Ndlebe, who help him in the wars which he fights for Dingiswayo. Chaka falls in love with Noliwe, Dingiswayo's favourite sister, and, with the consent of Dingiswayo, the two are betrothed to one another.

Soon after this, Senzangakona dies, and although Mfokazana moves the tribe to declare him successor, Dingiswayo reverses the decision in favour of Chaka on the grounds that Senzangakona had originally announced Chaka as his successor. This decision results in war, in which Chaka defeats and kills Mfokazana. So Chaka becomes chieftain in his father's stead. Soon after, Dingiswayo is killed by treachery, and after avenging his benefactor's death, Chaka becomes Dingiswayo's successor on the understanding that he marries Noliwe. The marriage is delayed, however, because Noliwe is last survivor of her clan and there is nobody to receive the marriage cattle.

Chaka now begins to carry out his aims as ruler of the world. He falls completely under the spell of Isanusi, the ruthless magician. He builds a great town. All the young men are armed and drilled, the girls are also placed under military discipline. Chaka becomes more powerful every day, but Isanusi will not give him the dominance of the world unless he sacrifices his betrothed, Noliwe. After a terrible struggle, Chaka consents. With his own hand, he kills Noliwe.

This act is the turning point in Chaka's life. Up till then he has shown nothing but nobility of character. Now he loses all human feeling, and becomes worse than a beast. His degeneracy is precipitous. Murder follows upon murder. People are

killed singly and in companies. Finally, he kills his mother, and then an overburdened conscience drives him to insanity.

In the end, Chaka is murdered by his half-brother, Dingana. In the moment of death, Chaka's old self reasserts itself, his old personality flickers up like a tiny flame before the fire dies out altogether.

This, then, is briefly the plot of the book. It is a great work throughout, with moments sublime, that grip even the wildest imagination. We illustrate from two instances in the book :—

Chaka knows that he must kill Noliwe or lose his kingdom. The time is not yet ripe, however, and he pays a visit to Noliwe in her own apartments. This is what he finds :

"He found her at home, alone with her handmaiden. When he looked upon her, he saw that she was very beautiful. She was a ripe fruit, fair of face and brimful of beauty. Her eyes were a soft black, set in white. Her voice, especially when she spoke to Chaka, her beloved, made him forget all the songs of war and the songs-of-praise which he loved so well. Her voice was clear, a song, soft and sincere. Here was no guile, no deceit. But—oh—her eyes . . ."

And this is the lamb that must be sacrificed on the altar of ambition.

The other great instance cited is Chaka's death. He has entertained Dingana and Mhlangana all day, and for a brief while he has been free from the terrible dreams and visions born of a guilty conscience. Suddenly his day-dreams return and—

"After that he saw the Udonga-luka-Tatiyana full of people he had murdered. Nandi on the one flank and Noliwe on the other, and approaching in the distance was Isanusi and his minions. He heard a voice shouting from their midst : 'Chaka, murderer of your own kith and kin, of the blood of your own father ; murderer of your own wife, your soul's companion ; murderer of your own children, your own life blood ; murderer of your own mother, of her who bore you . . .'"

(At that moment Dingana and Mhlangana stab him.)

" . . . And at that moment Isanusi appeared before Chaka to claim his reward."

These are only two of the intensely dramatic moments in the book. There are many others.

Mofolo has wonderful powers of description. Sometimes he is an artist painting all details, then, again, he pictures something to us with one or two broad sweeps of the brush. Mark this beautiful picture :—

"It was early morning, long before sunrise, and Chaka was bathing in an eerie place. Above him towered a high waterfall, and he was standing in the big basin that caught its waters. Further in the basin was a deep pool, with water of deep blue. On the far side, but still in the basin, was a mighty cavern, a deep hole of inky gloom. It slanted down and into the far bank so that no man could see where it ended . . ."

What could describe the feelings and the state of mind of Chaka after his father has issued the order for his death, more clearly than this ?—

"Now Chaka was indeed a hare-chased-by-all-dogs, a child-bereft-of-parents and an outcast-buffalo-bull."

Again, Mofolo knows how to make use of that wonderful simile and picture talk of Sesotho, as this example shows :—

" He who has done much in this world will find a rich harvest in the other ; for the departing sun takes with it all the deeds that a person does in this world to the great city of those who live, although you mortals say that they are dead. There these deeds await him who begat them, multiplying the while and increasing like cattle that bear progeny. But he who has done little, his deeds, instead of multiplying, wane and grow to nought. They are like the deeds of a man who has ploughed little, and when the time comes to thresh his handful of wheat, he finds that the grains, instead of coming out and filling the grain bags, remain hidden in the loose soil of the threshing floor."

To sum up, then, we must say that Chaka is not only a beautiful work of art, not only a grand historical novel, but it is of immense value to Bantu and European alike. Mofolo has placed a great man in the environment to which he belongs. And rightly so, for away from his environment, away from his background, even the greatest of men cuts but a sorry figure. Again, Mofolo has pictured to us very carefully the great forces that were at play to make Chaka what he was, and of which History takes but little notice. Lastly, Mofolo has shown us the truth of the saying : " There is no man so bad but that there is some good in him . . . "

### *Pitseng.*

A novel of simple life, simple folk, simple aims and aspirations—but grand withal.

Pitseng is the name of a village in the back regions of Basutoland. One day a pastor by name of Mr. Katse sets out with his wife to bring the light of the gospel to these outlying parts. He is exceptionally well equipped for the work of pastor and teacher. Mr. Katse is a man of wide sympathy, humble in mind and simple in his mode of life. On his journey he already displays that love for his fellow-man which later contributes so much towards his success as shepherd of a country flock.

Arrived at Pitseng, Mr. Katse immediately sets to work and soon has a fair congregation and a large school. He quickly adapts himself to the simple life of the villagers of Pitseng, of which a beautiful description is given in the book.

Two of the pupils single themselves out as sound characters and Mr. Katse chooses them as future helpers. The boy is Alfred Phakoe and the girl is Aria Sebaka. It is Mr. Katse's cherished dream that these two should some day wed and join forces, in the good work of the church and of education.

Alfred Phakoe is sent to a training institution at the Cape, while Aria becomes an assistant in the school.

Alfred Phakoe's years of study at the institution are very interesting, because they give such a clear picture of the social life in the institution. The little undercurrents of vice and naughtiness, the sexual temptations and clandestine meetings are very illuminating. Alfred Phakoe, however, withstands all temptations and eventually passes through his course of training. During his holidays, he travels very extensively and studies the customs and social laws of the other Bantu nations.

All the while, Mr. Katse is forging the link between Alfred and Aria by artful messages in his letters. Eventually, Alfred comes back and takes over the school. The story ends with the marriage of Alfred and Aria.

As a literary production, this book ranks as high as Chaka. The differences are in the nature of the work. Chaka is a historical novel, while Pitseng is more an ethnographical novel.

The chief character in the book is undoubtedly Mr. Katse, and Thomas Mofolo has painted a character which is at the same time noble and endearing. Mr. Katse's steadfastness of purpose, his wide sympathies, his ability to be a true Christian, and even though initiated into the individualistic aims of Christianity still remaining one with his own people, help him to carry to a successful issue the great self-imposed task. His naive schemes of bringing Alfred and Aria together make him a shameless matchmaker, yet nobody can fail to sympathise with Mr. Katse, for his schemes are born in a great and generous heart.

Mangoaela says that Mr. Katse is no other than Everitt Lechesa Segoete, the writer of *Raphepheng* and *Monono*, which have been reviewed under the sections of Folklore and of Novels respectively. If the reader knows this, and reads the works of Everitt Segoete, he cannot but admire the great Mosotho the more.

Alfred Phakoe is not a great character morally. One has the impression that he is more fortunate than great. He is a bundle of negative qualities, for if we analyse him we can only say : "He was not this . . . he was not that."

As in Chaka, we have wonderful descriptions—descriptions of nature, of people and their customs, and descriptions of actions. Yet one is never so roused as in Chaka. The cause for this is that the story is less adventurous. A few of the beautiful passages are given below :—

" . . . We shall talk about the last Sunday on which Alfred Phakoe was in their midst. (Prior to going to the Cape.)

"The bell has rung ; the Moruti comes stooping, silent, gazing steadily in front of him and looking down on the ground. On this occasion he comes without his cap made of cat skins, for that is his school hat. When the second bell ceases to ring, he is still at the door of the church, for he was a man who watched very jealously over this domain of his ; even when he came to school he was always very punctual, and punctual in leaving it. When the bell ceased ringing he went in at the door and walked to the pulpit. The front seats are for the young, so that they should be near to him and be able to begin the hymns, for most of the children in these seats were his school children."

This passage deals with Alfred's journey to Aria's parental home to be married :—

" . . . The finches again flew up in a swarm and passed by quite close to them, but a little distance away they wheeled and rushed past them in swift flight and settled in the reeds. It was as though they were trying to greet him in this manner.

" High up in the ridges of the mountain the baboon barked : " *Ho-ho, ho-ho !* "

" Alfred cast his eyes to a great clump of reeds on the other side of the valley and saw the great-tailed widow bird spread its tail into a soft fan, very daintily, saying : " *Ngeng, ngeng, ngeng !* " a song greatly loved by the bird-scarers.

Near them the quail is singing in the midst of the fields of wheat : " *Koekoelle, koekoelle, koekoelle !* "

" (So the young man is carried along on the wings of gladness to the great event in his life.)"

The whole book rings true and sincere. The author has written about things he knows and loves. One is glad to know that such a great character as Mr. Katse has been pictured under the inspiration of a great Mosotho, and that there was another Mosotho great enough to recognise his sterling qualities and to hand on the picture to generations yet to be born.

#### (vi) ALLEGORY.

Under this section we again meet Thomas Mofolo in one of his great works, viz., *Moeti oa Bochabela* (The Traveller to the East).

A young man, Fekisi, by name, is shocked by the terrible life which is being led by the people around him. Squabbles, drunkenness, wanton cruelty and even murder are the order of the day. Fekisi is a dreamer and a man of visions. Yet he is physically strong and brave and uses his strength and skill to protect those who are too weak to fend for themselves. He looks upon Nature and sees that everywhere there is happiness and joy in life. So to him the world is a place " where every prospect pleases, but only man is vile." His deep contemplation of Nature leads him to the quest after the Creator. Old men can but tell him of the many legends which speak of creation and that men originally came from Ntsoanatsatsi, where the sun rises every morning. Fekisi then sees a vision : Out of the great pool at Ntsoanatsatsi a man rises shining far brighter than the sun, yet benign of face. This is the Creator and Fountain of all Life, and him he must seek.

Fekisi therefore decides to leave his home, and to seek that wonderful Being of his dreams.

After a touching farewell to his father's cattle, which he has herded with such loving care for many a year, he sets out for the East.

His journey is no easy one. He soon finds out that people of other Bantu races are no better than his own people. At last he leaves all human habitation behind him and after an almost endless journey through desert and wilderness, he reaches the sea in a fainting condition. Here he is picked up by men of another race and colour. They are Christians, and in their teachings he recognises the fulfilment of his dreams. So he is taken across the sea and converted. The time arises for him to partake in his first sacrament. During the ceremony he sees the Saviour in a mist on the altar, and rushes up to meet him. There the others find him dead.

The work is akin to the Pilgrim's Progress, of which a good translation does exist in Sesotho under the name of *Leeto la Mokere-sete*. Like the Pilgrim's Progress, it is an allegory well sustained throughout. The great difference between the two books, however, is that whereas in Pilgrim's Progress the characters are all personifications of Virtues and Vices, in *Moeti* the characters are real men and women, and exemplify types. Thus, throughout the book, there is something far more material. The book is Bantu in character and

spirit, and therefore far more suitable for the Bantu than the "Progress." It is therefore less universal in application because materialism limits whereas abstraction transcends all limits.

As has been pointed out before, Fekisi is a man of deep contemplation, a dreamer. One is usually inclined to associate dreams, especially day-dreams, with a weak physique. Yet in this case we have a perfectly normal man dreaming dreams and seeing visions.

Besides painting a vivid picture of the early life of the Basotho, and showing up all the evils in lurid colours, Thomas Mofolo has done more; he has dived below the surface and by describing the soul-life and the soul-struggle of Fekisi he has firstly shown the shallowness of old Basotho religion, and secondly given us an intimation of the line which the Masotho mind will take once it is aroused. Christian comes to the celestial city by shunning personifications of Evil and with the help of men and women personifying Virtues, but Fekisi reaches the altar by looking for his Creator in Creation. It is the evil in real men and women—cruelty, malignity and even murder—that drive him to the realisation that Society is rotten to the core; and the joy of the sunshine, the bloom and blossom of Spring, the joyfulness of animals, the joyousness of Life—all these reveal to him the existence of Him from whom such Joy springs.

In this book we find a little mannerism which is not conspicuous in his other works. Mofolo often repeats a word which he wishes to emphasise, but the passage does not lose by the repetition of the word. The following is an example:—

*Ea pheta ea lla, ea lla, ea lla, ea khutsa.*

Again it cried, it cried, it cried, then kept its peace.

*La chaba le khanya khotso, le khanya lerato. La chaba, la rateha. . .*

The sun came up and shone peace, and shone love. It came up, it was lovable.

The alliteration in the second passage is very striking.

The second work under this heading is by Sekese and equally brilliant, but quite different in character.

#### AZARIEL SEKESE.

Azariel Sekese was born at Berea in 1849 at the time of Mor. J. Vaitin, of Berea. He grew up as a cattle herd and did not have the chance of going to school. At the end of the war of Seqiti in 1868, Mor. A. Mabilie founded the school for young men at Moriya. A. Sekese was one of the students at that school. He began to go to school when the cattle had been seized by the Boers, and he was 19 years of age. In the school there were three groups of boys. A. Sekese was the first in the second group. When his seniors left school he was promoted to the first group and was the seventh in that class. After leaving school he was a teacher and evangelist at Tlapaneng in 1872, at the time of the confusion caused by the War of the Guns. A. Sekese advised his father to hand over his gun to the Government. On his advice, Father Sekese

sent his gun to the Government by his son A. Sekese, and for that reason Chief Lesho-boro Maraja "ate" the cattle of Azariel, and the owner of the cattle fled to the Government and became a constable at Tlapaneng (Advance Post). Masopha surprised Tokonya close to the Advance Post, and the police and assistant magistrate, Charles Bell, fled to Maseru in the Free State.

After three months, the police of Tlapaneng, together with the Mahluibi of Tokonya and the Volunteers (European corps), under the command of Captain Stanton, were ordered to Hlotse (Leribe) to protect the Assistant Commissioner, Major Bell. This is how A. Sekese came to Leribe, where he was longing to be while he was still at his own home in Berea, for he wanted to write the history of the Basotho, and in the beginning many great events took place at Leribe. While he has this aim in view and this desire, the War of the Guns helped him a great deal, for it pushed him to Leribe. His underlying thought in writing was always that events of long ago explained new developments; in fact, they were the foundation to new events. The Basotho are very slow in understanding new events and later developments because they do not know old history and how it differs from the events of a later date.

At the end of the war Chief Jonathan made him his secretary from the year 1881. After that he was again teacher at Hlotse, but because the salary was low he relinquished his post and worked in a store for seven years. The late Chief Jonathan again took him out of the store and made him his secretary from 1881 to 1894. After that he became a messenger to Chief Jonathan and to the Assistant Commissioner. He relinquished this post on account of age and infirmity. In spite of this he continued to write history until the year 1930.

It was his service at the court of the Chief that has placed Sekese in the position to write his great satire *Pitso ea Linonyane*.

The contents of this book may be given in very few words.

The birds call a meeting to protest against the depredations of one *Phakoe*, the hawk. *Lenong*, the vulture, is the chief, and therefore the judge. The atmosphere, the procedure, the etiquette, and the whole conduct of the meeting are those of the old chief's court.

All the birds, led by *Motinyane* (ting-tingtjie), lodge their complaints, each in his own characteristic way—*Motinyane* and *Thaha* (the finch) all a-twitter with indignation, *Leebu* (dove) sombre and mournful.

The hawk (*Phakoe*) attempts to defend himself by pointing out that these accusers are continually stealing the corn and mealies of other people, and so he must punish them. Other birds that do not live on grain stand up, however, and lodge the same accusations. *Phakoe* then becomes angry, but is restrained by the meeting. His very bluster and conceit lead him more deeply into the conviction of his wrongs. Yet in the end *Phakoe* is exonerated, for those above him are not averse to a little piracy.

There are many irrelevant though amusing interludes. The owl, for instance, takes this opportunity of complaining most bitterly against her ostracism by the birds and her persecution during the day. She explains how she became a night bird and why she is now called a *moloi*.

The partridge plays the role of parson and appeals to *Phakoe* to examine his own heart and thereby come to the conviction of his own sins. He cites passages out of the Bible to show how "the mighty" have been deposed from their seats.

The meeting begins in a lively manner, proceeds in a lively manner and ends in a lively manner.

The book is brilliant for four reasons :—

(i) The author has a keen insight into bird life. He knows the habits of each and the words he puts into the mouth of each reproduce the sounds made by those particular birds. The actions are also

characteristic, from the frisky, flitting, fluttering *Motinyane* to the slow, sombre, slumbering vulture. The allegory is thus well sustained.

(ii) The whole book gives the reader a clear insight into the procedure at the chief's court ; the wonderfully correct behaviour exacted by court etiquette and the beautifully comic phraseology employed.

(iii) It is a book full of humour and would appeal to all readers—big and small. It will always appeal to the child as a story about birds. It will appeal to the riper mind of a man because he will feel perhaps more than understand the underlying idea. The humour arises out of situations.

(iv) The author seems to have sound knowledge of human character, and of different types of men.

The following extracts will show with what facility Sekese writes. The reader is carried along as much by the theme as by the style of the author. Some of the sayings are very striking :—

“ A nation that has no *pitso* (meetings) is like an invalid whose ailments are not being diagnosed by doctors who know how to cure them.”

“ There may be two, there may be three, all sons of one man : one attacks a beast, the second and the third help him, the beast is killed. Difficult matters become easy when they are tackled by men in unison.”

“ In bird kingdom there is a meeting on account of the dissatisfaction of the small birds, which are being persecuted by *Phakoe* (hawk).”

“ And when the court arrived, a long whistle sounded, as is often done : Tsoee, tsoee, tsoeee, tsoeeee ! Locusts, keep quiet ! And the whole gathering said ‘ tu ! ’ ”

“ Then stood forth Motinyane, eyes timid, even afraid to look at the grand Lords : he is an old mannikin, his head is already grey ; he is leaning heavily on the stick in his hand. Now and again he grips his own throat, speaks and says : ‘ My Lords, you will ask what is this that opens the debate ? Indeed, I am nothing in your sight ; even if it is so, viz., that I am nothing, I do not like to die or have my children killed year by year. I have only one request. Phakoe must be deposed from his office as lord ; he is finishing off the nation-of-son-of-bird. Even though I am withered, I am kept busy all day running away from him, dodging midst hedges. I do not know how he will ever masticate me, seeing that I am so old . . . ’ ”

“ Phakoe : Khele, well I never ; to grow is to see miracles. It is now that I see wonders ; it is beyond me ! I am being convicted by these abortive creatures !

“ Meeting : Steady, please, steady, please, son-of-Phakoe ! Do not interrupt, father, let them bring forward their complaints.

“ Phakoe : You tell me to compose myself, why do you not silence these tale-bearing swindlers ? What would prevent me from trampling this *lekolikotoana* (finchlet) under foot at this very moment ?

Meeting : *Spit* (be patient), *tread on wool* (act gently), son of our Master.

Dove : “ . . . Let me but end by saying—Lords, now clear the way for Phakoe to reply to the charges, the sun is running away from us, and some of us have far to go.

Phakoe : “ . . . I say that I am punishing you for your misdeeds. Where are they ? Dove ! . . . Father ? . . . Finch, . . . Mother ? . . . Whose mabele is it in which you are being pursued all day while you are stealing it ? ”

### CONCLUSION.

A short review of literature, such as this, cannot do more than indicate types and perhaps reveal a little of the underlying current and the course which such a literature is steering. In this conclusion it is the intention of the writer to sum up his own impressions of the literature and to add some thoughts on the position of Lesotho as it is at present.

It is, after all, a truism that poets are born and orators are made. Yet one must not forget that many a man or woman, born with poetic genius, lives and dies without ever exposing that power which is hidden in him or her. Many a poet does not receive the opportunity to enrich the world with that lasting wealth which only the true artist can yield. There is no doubt that amongst the Bantu people there is a great wealth of talent, for the Bantu, one-time children of Nature, reflect in their speech and in their childlike, carefree disposition, true natural poetry which is kindred to Nature, and to Nature alone. The material is there, the power of expression is also extant in that beautiful language, full of imagery and picturesqueness ; but what is lacking is the technique, supported by a true love for nationality and mother-tongue. The few forerunners of Sotho literature have shown us that Bantu thought, Bantu interpretation of Life and of Living, are things that are new to us Europeans, a vast field of virgin soil yet uncultivated.

Whenever Basutoland or, better, Lesotho, is mentioned, a giant figure immediately looms on the horizon, namely, Moshoeshoe, the great Mosotho statesman. It is due to him that Lesotho retains its independence to-day, and thanks to him the Basotho people have the unique opportunity of developing as independent nation, the storehouse of all that is Bantu in culture and art.

If we read the history of Lesotho, and for a beginner no better book can be recommended than that charming booklet by E. Jacottet, entitled "Bukana ea Histori ea Lesotho," we find that Moshoeshoe founded, consolidated and eventually stabilised his kingdom by nothing but masterly diplomacy. His whole policy may be summed up in the words used by Jacottet and attributed to Moshoeshoe himself : "*Motse ho aha oa Morapeli.*"

Literally this means : "*It is the man of faith that builds up a village,*" but it can be interpreted as "*It is the statesman who builds up the state.*" This saying of Moshoeshoe gives the keynote to the whole book. Moshoeshoe was the right man at the right moment.

While to the east of the Maloti Mountains Chaka was building up a large kingdom by war, conquest and rapine, in the Maloti themselves, and on the western side, Moshoeshoe was building up a kingdom more securely by studied benevolence and statesmanlike administration. Out of the wrecks left by a ruthless conqueror, a man of peace was building up a new state. That is the great difference between Chaka and Moshoeshoe. Yet if we consider well, we must come to the conclusion that Moshoeshoe would not have achieved this aim with the same measure of success if Chaka had not run amok. So we find Moshoeshoe garnering and gleaning ears of wheat of every kind. Lesotho to-day has a nation of composite tribes all welded together under one rule and speaking one language in essence, although dialects peculiar to definite geographical regions and characteristic of the remnants of tribes that settled there may be met in Lesotho still.

The dawn of a new era broke in 1833, when Moshoeshoe invited missionaries to Lesotho. It is a chapter in the history of Lesotho worth while reading, not only for its intrinsic value, but also for the romance attached to it. It was a new era, indeed, and out of that statesmanlike perspicacity and inspiration of Moshoeshoe was born a great force in the development of the Sotho nation.

Moshoeshoe was exceptionally fortunate in obtaining the services of men who were public-minded, and saw that evangelisation pure and simple was not sufficient. They went further, and educated the Basotho, and, above all, encouraged them to build on the rock foundation of their own language. At the same time, English culture and English literature were not neglected, for judging from the biographies of the authors, these men must have been fairly conversant with good books in English. It seems as if English literature has acted as the catalytic agent which released the power latent within these men. The printing press and book dépôt at Moriya encouraged wholesome literature of a national character. If this had not been the case, it would probably have been impossible to speak of a Sotho literature to-day. The Basotho, it is feared, do not sufficiently realise how great the debt is which they owe to men like Jacottet, Dube, Dieterlein, and last, but not least, to Mrs. Dyke.

A remarkable, and in a sense disquieting feature of Sotho literature, is that, to the writer's knowledge, no further books have been published lately. Even the well-known authors seem to have produced nothing new. Does this mean that inspiration, guidance and encouragement have been cut off at their source ? Or does it mean that growth has been stifled through lack of appreciation ?

There is no doubt that conditions in Lesotho have changed. The change was inevitable. Lesotho is no longer an isolated country. Economic and other conditions have compelled the Basotho to leave their country and so these men have come into contact with the civilisation in the Union. Within the borders of Lesotho European civilisation has made itself felt, and there is a strong tendency noticeable amongst the Basotho to embrace everything that is European and to disparage what is their own. Contact with a higher civilisation is bound to have that effect. The question arises : "Is European civilisation bad for the Basotho ?" Before replying to his, let us but mention that the great authors did come into contact with European civilisation, but it did not have any detrimental effect on them morally. As a matter of fact, they seem to have come into real contact with outside influences only after they had reached an age of discrimination and possessed a definite standard of values. In other words, they were so well grounded and rooted in their own culture and nationality that they were able to extract the best from the foreign culture. To-day, it would appear, the growing generation of Basotho has no opportunity of assimilating that culture, which is to act as standard and basis for further development on sound and healthy lines. There seems to be too great a tendency to over-emphasise the economic aspect of education even to the detriment of the cultural aspect. The educational system is too coloured with the question : "How will our children fit in with the White Man ?" and it is not asked often enough : "How will our children fit in with one another and with our own people ?" The latter seems to be of primary importance for the building up of a nation, especially under such conditions as obtain in Lesotho, and so one would like to see the former question relegated to a secondary place in the general system of education.

It would, then, appear that it is not the European civilisation that is at fault, but that the weakness lies in the Basotho themselves, and under these conditions the system of education would need reviewing and adjusting.

Another reason for the lack of literary production at the present moment may be that the Basotho have, after their first burst, reached a "plateau." If this is the case, then one can expect tremendous activity when the period is over. At the same time, it would be fatal to accept this reason and merely await a renaissance. It would not be wrong to examine the first-mentioned reasons and attempt to rectify all errors while we are waiting for the re-awakening.

Lastly, from the European point of view, we must not forget that the Basotho, in common with other Bantu nations, are growing up as nations. They have reached that stage of growth and development which may be likened unto the age of puberty in children. This is a very difficult and trying stage to conscientious parents. The child is strong enough to feel his own strength, but not yet strong enough to exercise it independently. Firmness tempered with tact and kindness offer, as all parents will agree, the only policy to be recommended. The over-firm parent estranges his children, the over-indulgent one loses them, too. The child is passing from a stage of implicit faith in his elders to the maturer stage of critical judgment. Meanwhile, he is nothing more than a bundle of confused and confusing, contradictory and contradicting emotions. It is especially at this stage that personal contact counts most. Sane but sympathetic guidance is needed, and the guides must not rely too much on theory. They must, of course, possess fixed principles, but in the carrying out of these, sufficient elasticity must be granted, or else, it is feared, their task will be made impossible.

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## ADDITIONAL LAMBA APHORISMS.

By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.LITT.

(Concluded from last number).

1908. *Umutima tawikuta, icikuta lipafu.*

The heart is never satisfied, that which gets satisfied is the belly.

—The more the heart gets, the more it wants. If you long to kill an elephant, and then do so, you are not satisfied, but say, "Would that I had killed two ! "

1909. *Umutima umukulu alipele utuneyene.<sup>1</sup>*

His heart the elder has given to the little black ants.

—He shews no common-sense.

1910. *Umutwi nawo ulalala nsala ?*

The head also does it sleep hungry ?

—The head feasts on dreams at night. See 1711. This is an answer to 1911.

1911. *Umutwi wanji ifi ulukusala, kani uku ukuntulile syani kuvele.*

How my head has dreamed a jumble of dreams ; I wonder what has happened at home (lit., where I come from).

—Said after a night of dreams. For reply, see 1910.

1912. *Umuwila wakulumfwila.<sup>2</sup>*

The cry will hear for itself.

—The secret will out ; you cannot hide the animal you have just killed.

1913. *Umwaka yafuile imfumu ikulu twalibwenene kucangama.*

The year that the great chief died, we saw it by a rainless cloud.

—Lesa, the deity, was engaged on settling the death of the great chief, so that he could not attend to the rain, and the clouds came and went at a time of drought. Compare the Zulu<sup>3</sup> : *bayobona ngokusunqa kwentuthu*, they will see (my death) by the cloud of smoke issuing forth.

<sup>1</sup> A v.l. reads : *yevo umutima ultulile mutunenene*, You have put your heart down among the little black ants.

<sup>2</sup> V.l. *ukaliumfwila*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ucakijana Bogololo* by Mbata and Mdhladhlha, p. 32.

1914. *Umuwanakasi tapinicilwa mulandu.*

A woman is never sentenced.

—Because she is not considered responsible for what she does.

1915. *Umuana wamukulu tafwa kunsala, nimomo wisi mwanyantile icalo ?*

The child of an elder does not die from hunger ; isn't it in there that his father strode the country ?

—The child of a renowned father will receive food wherever he goes, for his father's name and good works have preceded him.

1916. *Umwenso wansoka kütiiinana.*

The dread of the snake is to fear one another.

1917. *Umweo wakalume ulalamo'mwine.*

The life of a slave he looks after himself.

—Even the slave must look after himself ; he must not suppose that his master will take care of him.

1918. *Uno ulukurava valukumwita.*

This one who is singeing, they are calling him.

—Said by youngsters on smelling feathers or hair burning, in order to find out who is cooking meat.

1919. *Utulo niñfwa, tatupikisiwa.*

Sleep is death, it is not argued about.

—I did not see it, I was asleep.

1920. *Utu tufulavulengo mwafwa ! Tavapupa-mo umupuya lukoso, tekwikuta.*

These are sugar-ants, look out ! One doesn't blow down (the hole) and get satisfied that way.

—For the hole goes down so far that one can't get to the bottom of it. Said if a child blows down an ant-hole.

1921. *Utu tufumbula, tatufuma mufikuka.*

These are distended frogs that don't leave the rubbish-heap.

—Said of stay-at-home people.

1922. *Uvowa vulava !*

*Kumfwa ati, Apo kukumbwa vowa uvu ubwene, toya koswa ?*

Mushroom is fine !

Retort, Do you then long for the mushroom you have seen, why don't you go and pick it ?

—Why sigh for something which you may have if only you stir yourself ?

1923. *Uvuko vùkulu bwalipetele vəŋkonsi amaseŋgo.*

The mother-in-law's village is important, it twisted Mr. Harte-beest's horns for him.

1924. *Uvuta tamwanine uvukosele, mwaana icivofu cavombwe.*

You did not string the bow securely, you strung it like a frog's throat.

1925. *Uvu vùlembe tavulaasa vakwavo.*

This is poison that has no consideration for its relations.

—Said of family indifference.

1926. *Uwalile inamo'mo fwense mutukumanye'micila.*

One man ate the meat, and there were not tails enough to go round.

1927. *Uwapyano'mucila waŋgo alapyana nemavaya.*

He who inherits the tail of a centipede, inherits also the scales.

—Cf. 1804. *Ingo* means both "centipede" and "leopard."

1928. *Uwatucile cisoko lùvilo aile pesilya lyalufuvu.*

He who reviled Chisoko hastened across the Lufuvu River.

—Said to anyone who shows a tendency to use vile language. It is said that a man who reviled the chief Chisoko got so scared at the consequences that he fled across the Lufuvu River, as the Kafue is called in its upper reaches.

1929. *Uyo mùvila wacipamba tofisamikwa.*

That is the wail of the cloth-hammer, it is never hidden.

—The beating of bark-cloth is heard a great distance ; so is news of the death of an elephant. Murder will out.

1930. *Uyomwine walipelela pavuŋga.*

He himself has ground himself where the flour is.

—Curiosity killed the cat. When the chief has called for flour, a child, eager to see the chief's village, will say : Let me carry the flour. He will accompany the party, and the chief, on seeing him, may detain him to run his errands.

1931. *Uyo nifutwe-mayembe tekumwililwa.*

That is the dancing-conjuror, don't dally near him.

—Said of the Little-hare, or any cunning one : Don't watch his tricks, or he will play them on you.

1932. *Uyumanice nicikula-vusiku tatubwene-po nefi akula.*

This child is one who grows in the night ; we didn't see him grow  
—Said of a child who has grown quickly.

1933. *Uyumanice takuli kularvila lukoso, ukularvila kwakwe kuli-bwene.*

This child doesn't speak for nothing, his speaking has seen some matter.

Said of a child who continually speaks in riddles ; he has something to tell, but is afraid to speak out.

1934. *Uyumuwine nimalalu, walalucila mufyavene.*

He himself is an old hand, he has grown old on his neighbour's goods.

—He is an incorrigible thief.

1935. *Uyu naye uyu wàlwambu, mbawe syani unjgavona avalukupita, lombo'lukuya navo ?*

And this one has attachment, how do you see those who pass, that you (want to) go with them ?

—Be careful whom you follow.

1936. *Uyu tulilikulile pamuvili, tutukavona umwakalola.*

This one we have dragged onto our own bodies, we shall not see where he will turn his eyes.

—An outcast helped in time of need becomes immoveable from his benefactors ; they come to wish that they had never helped him.  
Cf. 1840.

1937. *Vacifukwefukwe avaciwa nantengo.*

The guinea-fowls that still fall down with the grass stalks.

—When they settle on them.

1938. *Vacikwekwe muñkoco mumfulamina-kalunga utalya mwanice.*

The Chikwekwe, Munkocho bird that flies head-downwards in the sky, that a child does not eat.

—This bird is taboo to children.

1939. *Vafuminina avalalume vanyanta-ko umulimo.*

The men have come out properly, they have trodden the work.

—They have issued from their houses to some purpose. They have hoed a large patch.

1940. *Vakatiti avavukafu vusanu.*

The tom-tit of five bristles.

—When the tom-tit cries *ti ti ti ti*, people say that it is singing a dancing-song, belauding itself as the “ Tomtit of five bristles.”

1941. *Valavila lukoso itondo lyekoma, tavakesa-po.*

They have spoken like a shrew-mouse in a grass house, they will not come.

—They have promised what they will not fulfil.

1942. *Valya avavyesu navo avene càpamukoka<sup>1</sup> umuvafyalilwe.*

Those companions of ours themselves, it is the (medicine) of the clan in which they were born.

—If several brothers are all hunters, and another man is slighted because he cannot hunt, he will say the above.

1943. *Valya ngatukekala nikukasya kamutima twikalile.*

Yonder ones, even if we live with them, it is with a little slave of a heart that we live.

—We are not happy to live with them.

1944. *Valya vanangwa tavaaluka nangava'ti yanyinyita,<sup>2</sup> umutima umo lukoso.*

So-and-so over there doesn't change ; even if (hunger) has called (his) heart is just one and the same.

—He is a man of quiet, even disposition.

1945. *Valyavene nivamwanakavonga, koti kavavoñgeme lukoso.*

Those over there are children of little thorn-tree caterpillars, they are simply dullards.

—Said of dullards, who are not really imbecile, but who sit moping and silent for days, resembling the thorn-tree caterpillars before spinning the cocoon.

1946. *Valyavene nivanasyamukunye,<sup>3</sup> kale sikunyine.<sup>4</sup>*

Those yonder are “ bags of bones ” ; the (days) have already picked them clean.

—Said of old withered-up persons.

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *icanga*, medicine.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *insala*, hunger.

<sup>3</sup> V.l. *vanyina-syamukunya*.

<sup>4</sup> Concord for *insiku*, days.

1947. *Vamumbakapota tavalya mwanice.*

The drone bees a child mustn't eat.

—He must fear them.

1948. *Vanangwa pano vakula ekulukutana nemifukulo nevakasi.*

So-and-so is grown up now, that he plays toss with the ash-rake with his wife.

—Said of a very aged couple, lying one each side of the fire, and alternately passing over the ash-rake to stir up the embers, without rising themselves.

1949. *Vanangwa valya nimble icita, mwieva ati vène ; mba-po iyobile itavatusya yásyani ?*

(With) so-and-so over there it is a working-bee that does the work ; don't think that 'tis he himself. What sort of a working-bee is it at which they don't rest ?

—Said of one who never works himself but always has beer-parties to till his fields.

1950. *Vepa upite, urufi tabwikatilwa nkole.*

Lie and pass on, falsehood is not caught as a hostage.

—There is no punishment for lying among the Lambas.

1951. *Vùlumbwalumbwa neko tulukuya vùlumbwalumbwa.*

Shrikes, and where we are going also shrikes.

—We shall not go far, we shall go like shrikes, which fly up and settle down again almost immediately.

1952. *Vutucisya, wekalume !*

*Ati, Lulya lùvilo lwamapuapu.*

Run hard, you slave !

He says, That is the speed of top-speed throughout..

—Cf. 1707.

1953. *Walikampa, waluluma umwakuvula makumbi.*

You have stripped yourself, you have thundered where there were no clouds.

—You have cut off your nose to spite your face. You have made a fuss about nothing.

1954. *Wanyanta nkono<sup>1</sup>, wanyanta.<sup>2</sup>*

You have trodden on a crooked cucumber, you have trodden on me.

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<sup>1</sup> V.l. *palinkonko*.

<sup>2</sup> V.l. *ndyata* from the Lenje *lyata*.

—Don't tease an animal until it turns on one. Treading on a crooked cucumber makes it jump up and strike one.

1955. *Watovala'masana akalyelye, tesi uvone-po neko wakulala.*

You have broken a wagtail's eggs, you will not find a place to sleep now.

—You have stirred up a hornet's nest. The wagtail cries so persistently, if its nest is disturbed, that the perpetrator gets no rest.

1956. *Wemukulu ukwenda mumpaŋga koti amenso kukasuva.*

You adult, travelling in the veld, you should keep your eyes on the sun.

—You should see when it is time to return home.

1957. *Wemwalalume syani uŋgalukulemalema ifi ? Uŋgalukulale cifolali.*

*Kumfwa ati, Mbasyani tekulala-po ? Kavili kumaca epatulo.*

You male, how is it that you are so sluggardly ? It is as though you had slept on an empty stomach.

He says, Why shouldn't one sleep ? In the early morning is the time for sleep.

—The sluggard's answer. Cf. Proverbs, vi., 10.

1958. *Wemwana koti kolukupitana-po, filya valesa kuluvila kumbali yamusi.*

Child, you should walk about ; doing as you do, one would happen to lose himself on the outskirts of the village.

—Said to a young fellow who always sits at home. Go out and learn something beyond the confines of your village.

1959. *Wemwanice, ulukuvilimana.*

Child, you are full up.

—Your stories are too tall.

1960. *Wemwanice wilukufuma matako lukoso, valakumanye'mfwiti !*

Child, don't go out naked, one meets thus with witches !

1961. *Wemwanice kolakawila bwino, akanwa nako valapitu-po.*

Child, be careful in your talk, a mouth too they pass over.

—The chief may walk over your mouth, if you say wild things in his presence.

1962. *Wetosonsola tavasowolola.*

You, who don't seek relish, may not pass judgment.

—Beggars cannot be choosers. Since you don't help to get the relish, don't criticise it.

1963. *Wero ulavuvaila lukoso koti ninsongo, toceva panuma.*

You gallop like an eland, you don't look behind.

—Said to a person who hurries along the road without chatting with those coming on behind him.

1964. *Wero ulukūpoose'cakulya, tawalubwene<sup>1</sup> ili lwasiṇkile ?*

You are throwing away food, did you not see the (fight), when it stopped up ?

—Said when food is abundant after a time of hunger. Don't be wasteful : remember the time that hunger fought with you and closed up all avenues of food.

1965. *Wevo wemwanice ulukuleela lukoso, akasuva neli kalukuya mukuwa ? Kumfwa vambi ati, Kavili cilya ecileelelele icakuvula'kalango !*

Child, do you just droop, even though the sun is just setting ?

Others say, And that is just a stupid drooping that has no sense !

—Do not laze during work time.

1966. *Wevo wemwanice uli nemwando wakapondo.*

Child, you have the trap-spring of an enemy.

—You should be careful how you talk. Your words are like the strings with which an enemy sets his traps.

1967. *Wisofyala naye kukupatila umufi-muvyove !*

Your father-in-law, to scold you, and he is your fellow-marrier.

—Said by a man to his father-in-law, if the latter becomes exacting. You came to this village to marry ; you are an outsider. I too have come to this village as a stranger to marry your daughter. I am on the same footing as you.

#### ADDITIONAL SONGS.

Imb. 96.

*Akapembya sololo sololo.*

*Akapembya sololo sololo.*

Countess beetle, judging, judging.

Countess beetle, judging, judging.

<sup>1</sup>Concord for *uluvo*, fight.

—Children catch the countess beetle and hold it ; then, clapping hands and singing the above, they watch it wag its head from side to side as though in meditation.

Imb. 97. *Ati, wemwame !*

*Ati, Wo ?*

*Ati, Vanoko vaya kwisa ?*

*Ati, Vaya kumavala.*

*Ati, Vakusila-po indo ?*

*Ati, Cimbala.*

*Ati, Koya ukalete !*

*Ati, Kùtali.*

*Ati, Tumo'mwanice !*

*Ati, Akana.*

A. : Friend !

B. : Hey ?

A. : Where's your mother gone ?

B. : She's gone to the gardens.

A. : What has she left you ?

B. : A cake.

A. : Go and fetch it !

B. : It is too far.

A. : Send a youngster !

B. : He refuses.

—Sung at women's moonlight dancing. (11).<sup>1</sup>

Imb. 98.

*Icisokosoko cali mumpanga,*

*Caumfwa kawele, Cisokosoko !*

The Sokosoko bird was in the veld,

It heard a small shout, Sokosoko bird !

—(11) Sung at women's and children's dances.

Imp. 99.—*Kalunjuti nema-nema, wemukosi wikonoka.*

Lucky-bean spring up and down, neck don't break.

—The bean is on the necklace, while dancing.

Imb. 100.—*Kantumbwa kavula pakusamba.*

He who splashes in has come out when bathing.

—We were rescued when our companion was drowned, but we may not be so fortunate next time.

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<sup>1</sup>These references are to the descriptions of the dances given in *Lamba Folklore* pp. 523-525.

Imb. 101.—*Kantupuntupu leta amenda, umukalo wapwa, avana vamfumu tavanwa menda, umukalo wapwa.*

Fountain bring the water, the well is dry ; the children of the chief do not drink water, the well is dry.

Imb. 102.—*Kavundi mwana-mantanya, kumavala koko mulukuya, kuli ifivimbi fyavene, mwisilo'kulya.*

Galago, child of the long legs, in the gardens where you go, ate cucumbers belonging to other people, don't finish eating them all.

Imb. 103.—*Kolipumpo'musinge, masukwe iŋgala ilava !*

Stand right up like a needle anthill, the mane of the cheetah is fine !

—Sung when dancing with a head-dress of cheetah mane.

Imb. 104.—*Koni-munseeleele, koni-munseeleele, twalule navavukwe, vavula vandyā pampaŋgo syanji.*

Singing bird, singing bird, we went with our brothers-in-law ; they took and ate of my wealth.

Imb. 105.—  
*Minyeŋu nsume nsume,  
 Ndi mukwānu, ndi mwina-culu.*

Black ants, bite me, bite me ;  
 I am your brother, I am of the ant-hill.

—Play song of children.

Imb. 106.—*Mumpaŋga muli mikolovolo tene ŋkaya-mo.*

In the veld are thorn-trees, I shall not go in there.

—Hunting song.

Imb. 107.—*Ntuno<sup>1</sup> iseni mole ; ntuno, iseni mole, utumfulilwa-mukunda, utusimu tavalya navana.*

Here they are, come and gather them up ; here they are, come and gather them up ; caterpillers one does not eat with the young as well.

—Sung when collecting caterpillers.

Imb. 108.—*ŋkupe'yī?<sup>2</sup> Noko tailima, ŋkuŋkule'kosi, kumutwi ketala' manjōve, ŋkalamu mulye, tukalete'mikondo,<sup>3</sup> fwe twisi ukwala-wila, emuleya ŋkulufyu, m . . . !*

<sup>1</sup> Concord for *utukoto*, small edible caterpillers.

<sup>2</sup> Concord for *insima*, porridge.

<sup>3</sup> Kaonde for *ifumo*, spear ; cf. Zulu *umkhonto*.

Shall I give you this ? Your mother does not cultivate it. Let me knock my neck. On the head it marks out the stirring. Lion eat (it). Let us bring the spears, us who know how to tie up (bundles). That is evading to swallow !<sup>1</sup> M . . . !

—Sung, refusing to give food.

Imb. 109.—*Pamutano, pamutano, vanyina-mwana<sup>2</sup> tepo palele ci<sup>3</sup>vula yo yo yo yo !*

*Pacituni, pacituni, vanyina-mwana tepo palele cilongobwe yo yo yo yo !*

*Vanyina vakapampalwe sinkula mululila nkuvone, tyololo tika, tyololo tika !*

On the bough, on the bough, mother of my child, is that not where lay the comb of the young bees ? Yo yo yo yo !

In the honey-hole,<sup>3</sup> in the honey-hole, mother of my child, is that not where lay the queen of the honey-insects ? Yo yo yo yo !

The mother of the make-shift hoe,<sup>4</sup> open up the passage-way,<sup>5</sup> let me see you, tyololo tika, tyololo tika !

—Sung to the accompaniment of the *amanjkuvala*, when bird-scaring (15).

Imb. 110.—*Uwafwa tavambika-ŋgoma, wafwa emo ndi !*

He who is dead does not commence the drumming ; look out, I am in here !

—Don't think that the drumming in my house is announcing my death ; I am beating the drum myself (1).

Imb. 111.—*Vakakosi kamfyalo'mwana kavalya, pano nemuvyaro namunda mulumine to to to !*

I begat a child and Mr. Hawk ate it, and now as for me, his mate, in my womb it has become as adamant.

—The song of the *katutwa* bird.

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the " Adam's Apple " getting out of the way to let the food pass down the throat.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the wife.

<sup>3</sup> The hole which the *urungulwe* honey insect makes in the ant-hills.

<sup>4</sup> The axe-head is stuck crosswise into a piece of stick, and used as an emergency hoe in the veld.

<sup>5</sup> The passage-way going underground through which the queen of the honey-insects would escape, on the nest being dug open.

## ADDITIONAL RIDDLES.

Tyo. 145.—*Seva akavansa unsevulule ? Mbo'vulunγu.*

Hoe a little court, hoe it clear ?—Beads !

—Shimbishi went to the Nsenga country and on return brought beads. The people wanted to know what they were, and he replied as above : Let me have a clear space onto which to pour them out.

Tyo. 146.—*Waimakana munsi yamutondo nefwa lyapya-mo ? Mbo'-luvango.*

You stand beneath a Tondo tree, and the cleft in it is mature ?

—A cleft chopped to fell the tree.

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## THE *MALA* SYSTEM OF THE VENDA-SPEAKING TRIBES.

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Marriage among these tribes is regulated by a complex legal and social system, the chief feature of which is the passing of a bride-price (*thakha*) from the family of the man to the family of the woman, in consideration of her passing into her husband's family, who will have full say over her, her reproductive power, and the children which she bears. In this essential feature the system of the Venda tribes is the same as that of all other Bantu peoples, both in the Union and elsewhere, and even in detail shows analogies more especially with the *boxadi* system of the Sotho group and the *lobola* systems of the Zulu-Xhosa and Thonga-Shangaan speaking tribes respectively. In some respects, however, the Venda system differs from each of these other systems; and it has accordingly been considered advisable not to apply to it either of the terms *lobola* or *boxadi*, but to designate it by the term *mala*, formed from the TshiVenda verb *u mala*, used by the VhaVenda to designate the process of taking a wife with the payment of a bride-price for her.

It will be obvious, from the ethnic history of the VhaVenda and the nature of their various culture-contacts, that the details of their *mala* system, whatever their original nature may have been, have undergone extensive and profound modification under the various cultural influences to which they have been subjected. Of these influences the most powerful, as well as the latest, appears to have been that of the Sotho group represented by the Central sub-group in the Transvaal (the so-called "Transvaal Basutos"), who have greatly influenced the language as well as the culture. One would expect also that a most prominent trait in Venda culture generally as in language in particular, would be evident in the *mala* system—that derived from the VaKaranga. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the details of the Karanga bride-price system is not sufficient to enable us to connect the Venda system to it more than in the general way we can demonstrate for all Bantu-speaking tribes. A third marked influence on Venda culture generally, and recently on the *mala* system in particular, is that of the Nguni and Thonga tribes, the former represented mainly by the BaKoni, the latter by the "Shangaans," who live in close proximity to the VhaVenda.

In the light of the somewhat heterogeneous ethnic nature of the tribes constituting the Venda-speaking group at the present day, it will not be surprising to find that these various influences have had differing effect in the differing sections. Still there is lately, with the growing tribal consciousness of the VhaVenda, a tendency towards unification of the culture of the group, and we may therefore attempt an examination of the general features of the system as found all over the area. It will be found that it resembles both the *boxadi* and the *lobola* systems in points of detail.

A bride-price, then, must be given to render a marriage legally effective, *i.e.*, to give to the family of the man the right to the woman's functions as wife and mother, both in respect of the husband for whom she is specifically obtained and, in case of his death, impotence or other cause rendering it impossible for him to continue to cause her to bear children, for any other husband to whom they wish to assign her. This is perhaps the extremest statement of the fundamental principle in its ultimate possibilities, and other principles and practices supervene which to some extent modify the absolute right of possession which a family exercises over the woman bought with its cattle. Nevertheless, it is desirable to have in mind at the outset the conception expressed in the proverb that "Cattle beget children," *i.e.*, that for a consideration in cattle a family buys from another family one female unit of potential reproductive power, and that all the vagaries of the *mala* system are expressed in the saying that "The children are where the cattle are not," *i.e.*, that if this potential unit does not fulfil her function, she must be replaced by another unit who does; and that in cases of disagreement on legal issues of any kind involving the *mala* system, either side can claim only one possession—either the woman and her children born and unborn, or the cattle.

With this general principle in mind, we may now proceed to consider the various aspects of the system as found in practice.

The ceremonial connected with marriage, though in a sense subordinate to the theoretical conceptions underlying the legal system, must be taken as an integral part of the whole complex, illustrating symbolically the social and legal relations between the two families concerned. In this regard again, a basic conception must be stated at the outset which conditions the nature of these ceremonial details. Descent in a family, *i.e.*, in a "house," is patrilineal. Through incest-inhibitions, a house cannot propagate itself through its own females, and must therefore obtain females from another house, for a

consideration. The attitude of the house seeking females is therefore one of some humility towards the house supplying the females required, until the contract has been entered into and ratified, when the relative conduct of the two houses is more on an equal footing. This will appear on comparing the manner of entering upon the contract with the manner of carrying out its terms.

Since in terms of Venda communal conceptions it is the family, and not the individual, which pays for the woman, it follows that the choice of the woman in each case depends much more immediately upon the family than it does in European society, though within limits personal predilection, on the man's part considerably more than on the woman's, is allowed to count in the mating of spouses. Yet the first, and in the last instance the final, say in the matter is in the hands of the head of the house, as representing the house which is buying the woman for one of its members. He may himself take the initiative in the matter of the man's marrying at all, or of his marrying any particular woman, or he may leave the man himself to take the initiative ; but it is he, and not the man concerned, who either in person or by deputy takes the requisite ceremonial and legal steps in the matter and, on the other side, it is the woman's "father," and not the woman herself, who acts on behalf of the woman's family. And though usually both the man and the woman are allowed to have considerable, and in these less autocratic times, even a decisive say in the selection of their mates, cases are by no means rare, especially among the Venda tribes who are still generally on a more primitive plane than the other Transvaal tribes, where a husband or a wife has been arbitrarily selected for his or her spouse respectively by the "fathers" concerned, and a marriage forced contrary to the wish of either or both. The point which it is desired to stress in this connection, however, is the fact that the relative status of the houses to a considerable extent determines the desirability of the marriage in Venda eyes, and that the status of a woman's house largely determines the status of the house which will either deign or dare to obtain her as wife for one of its males. Developments of this partly subconscious trend are found in the case of marriages of chiefs, the one largely a tradition, the other as yet not more than a slowly-growing tendency. As with commoners, there is a tendency to marry within the extended family, though neither definite endogamy nor, *a fortiori*, exogamy, are found ; and the woman thus married usually takes precedence over women taken out of other families. But it is stated that Venda chiefs formerly did, and in some cases still do, marry their

own half-sisters, the daughters of their fathers by other wives ; and native informants are responsible for the explanation here suggested, that this was done in order to render as low as possible the amount of admixture with houses of a lower status than the chiefs' own. Again, while chiefs have always in the regular way married women themselves of royal blood, the tendency now is for the chief to marry women selected out of one house or group of houses, which for several generations past has been supplying wives to the line of the chiefs themselves and their collateral lines, instead of a more promiscuous selection, now from this house and now from that. There is, further, the growing tendency, perhaps under the influence of the adjoining BaKoni, to let ante-nuptial status of a woman determine her post-nuptial status in the polygamous household.

Having considered the principles tending to determine the selection of a woman according to the status of her family, we may pass over the more personal qualities which determine her selection by her prospective husband and his family, only noting that the qualities chiefly taken into account are those of a good prospective wife and prolific mother ; we may also for our present purpose omit much reference to the personal qualities which the prospective husband must possess in order to render him acceptable to his prospective wife and her family, only indicating that these qualities count very little in comparison with his wealth and status. We may now indicate the steps taken in the arrangement and ratification of the marriage contract.

The "father" of the man, the prospective bride having been determined upon, will informally and diplomatically sound her "father" upon the likelihood of his consenting to the marriage, and having received a veiled and guarded encouraging reply to his tentative suggestions as to the number of beasts he is willing to offer, now sends, more formally, messengers to the woman's home, with the inevitable present to "open the mouth" of her people. In a ceremonial interchange of formulas, which we do not need to specify more fully here, the promise is given, but grudgingly, as is the whole of the reception of these messengers, and after a formal, but for the messengers designedly humiliating, consultation of the woman's desires as to whether she wants the husband these people want her for or not. Throughout these transactions the attitude of the man's to the woman's family is distinctly humble.

Upon this first official visit of the "father's" messengers follows in some tribes a second visit by the women of the man's family, and

it is stated that on this occasion the woman undergoes a searching physical examination at their hands. Formal preliminaries over, the real business of bargaining for the woman begins ; some tribes lean more to the Sotho idea that this kind of haggling should not take place, at least not in public ; others are more realistic, and a full-dress debate on the number and nature of the beasts which are to change hands takes place *coram publico*. It is a point of note that in such formal or informal haggling neither the men most concerned, the "fathers" of the two parties, nor the pawns in the game—the man and the woman—have any say officially, no matter what their private influence in the matter may be. The whole thing is stage-managed by the two families. In this whole proceeding there is an atmosphere of strain and unfriendliness between the two families, and various ceremonial and other ways are followed to show the unwillingness of the woman's family to part with her even for a good consideration. Once the conditions have been agreed on, however, a spirit of friendliness prevails, and almost at once the family of the man insist and even presume on the contract rights which they had before anxiously sought to obtain.

The total number of beasts agreed upon to be paid is not necessarily or even usually handed over at once, and there is no rule, as among the BaHuruthse, that they should be handed over in one instalment after some specific lapse of time. Usually a good proportion of them is handed over directly, the rest remaining a claim of the woman's family on that of her husband. Of this instalment, which is handed over at once, a portion, consisting usually of but one beast, is given to the mother of the woman, and this beast, whatever the subsequent adventures of the bride-price, is never returned. Its name, *ndzadzi*, would seem to uphold the explanation given by native informants that it is, in theory at least, the price of the woman's virginity, for which, in the first place, her mother is held responsible. At various times in the preliminaries to the consummation of the marriage, and also at other times afterwards, such as the birth of the first child and the final departure of the woman from her parents' home to go and live in her husband's house, other presents, sometimes in the form of large, but usually of small, stock, are given to the bride's parents by those of the bridegroom, but there is difference of opinion as to whether these are to be considered as part of the *thakha*, i.e., whether in the case of subsequent severing of the bond they can be legally claimed back by the latter. On the whole, the opinion seems to be that they cannot. Such differences of opinion do not, curiously enough, exist as to the pre-nuptial

presents given to the woman herself, such as clothing, ornaments, etc. These are quite definitely considered part of the *thakha*, and they or their value may be claimed in any case of dispute. In modern—and it is stated, also in former—times, the expenses incurred in connection with the wedding by the man's family would be reckoned in with the *thakha*, which certainly nowadays is heterogeneously composed, but the chief constituent of which is still cattle, though small stock, hoes and even money have come to replace part or all of the cattle in some extremely modernised versions.

The amount of the *thakha* having been settled to the satisfaction of both parties, a first instalment is at once paid over. There seems to be no special taboo on any certain number, although two beasts seem to constitute the absolute minimum, a more usual amount being six beasts, plus the extra presents, and ten beasts being considered quite a good price even for a woman of pretty good family. Once this deposit has been paid the man takes formal possession of his wife, with whom he may then cohabit officially, and who is actually brought to the home of his parents. The young couple, however, live at the house of the woman's parents in quite a number of cases till the first child has been born, when they set up house for themselves near the home of the man's parents. It is at this period that the demands of the woman's family for the payment of the balance of the *thakha* become pressing, but it is rare that they are satisfied. More usually the balance of the *thakha* is paid out of the *thakha* obtained by the man out of the marriage of his wife's first female child, more rarely out of the marriage of his own sister. If, however, he delays too long, other measures may be taken. Although the *theleka* custom of the South-Eastern tribes is unknown in its true form, the Venda tribes have a slightly different but just as effective form of it; for with the consent of and often if not invariably at the instigation of her parents, the woman will return to her home, taking her children with her. The husband will, in such a case, not be able to force his wife to return to him or give up the custody of the children unless and until he makes some satisfactory arrangement with her parents with regard to the repayment of the balance of the *thakha*. It must be stated that if he really cannot pay, he would not be treated in this way; it is only if he is unwilling that these measures are adopted. If he persists in his refusal to pay he cannot compel his wife to return to him, though there is a tendency, perhaps largely due to European influence, to give him this right; what he has more definitely is the right to demand that his wife's people shall remain

satisfied with one beast for each child that the woman has borne him, plus the *ndzadzi* beast mentioned above ; and that, if he has paid four beasts and owes two, and the woman has had three children, he and they are quits as far as the children are concerned, they keeping what beasts they have obtained and he keeping custody of the children she has borne ; while they have the right to any further children she may bear unless he pays what he owes. This tendency is, however, stated to be due entirely to recent Nguni influence.

A few remarks may be here offered on the source of the *thakha*. It is derived, in the first place, from the "house" to which the man belongs, *i.e.*, from the cattle assigned to that house by the head of the family ; it may be further derived from *thakha* accruing to that house from the marriage of its females ; it may be supplemented from the general property of the head of the household, who is responsible for obtaining wives for the males of all the houses subordinate to him ; and this general property may be itself composed of *thakha* beasts derived in various ways, *e.g.*, from the marriage of the sister of the head of the household. The custom prevalent among certain Tswana tribes, *e.g.*, the BaHuruthse, that the maternal uncle of the bridegroom-elect can be called upon to contribute to the *thakha* for the bride, does not appear to obtain, though, as a matter of fact, he usually does contribute a share.

On the other hand, the distribution of the *thakha* obtained for a woman by her family is not subject to the rules obtaining among some of the BeTswana, where the maternal uncle, the paternal aunt, etc., are all entitled to shares. The whole of the *thakha* falls to the woman's father, theoretically to do with as he likes, actually to use in the obtaining of wives for those for whom he is responsible, not forgetting himself, if he is so inclined.

The best conception of the nature of the *mala* contract, however, is afforded by a consideration of the action taken in the cases where either party fails to fulfil the contract. We will consider the various situations that may arise, and synthesise our views in their light.

We have seen above that when the woman carries out the obligation of being a good wife and a fertile mother, the man may neglect his obligation by unduly prolonging the payment of the balance of the *thakha* owing in respect of his wife, and we have seen the action that may be taken to force him to accelerate payment or to declare, and accept the consequences of, his unwillingness to pay. These consequences may be mentioned again here, because they need stressing ; his wife, and especially her children, could be taken away

from him, and he could claim a refund of the cattle already paid by him, or could elect to remain in possession of such of his children as the amount paid by him entitled him to ; but he could not further claim conjugal rights from his wife, who could, with such children as she retained, be *mala'd* by another man, who would then become the legal father of the children.

Another type of possible delict on the part of the husband is his post-nuptial treatment of his wife ; if he illtreats her, neglects her, refuses to eat food prepared by her, etc., she may choose to return to her parents ; if he then seeks to get her back, and her parents either side with her or are unsuccessful in their sometimes very strong efforts to persuade her to return, a divorce may be effected, and the financial relations in respect of the *thakha* adjusted in the same way as in the former case.

We must now consider the adjustment of circumstances which, through no fault on the part of the woman and her family, prevent the man and his family from enjoying the advantages of the marriage-contract entered into by him.

If the man be impotent, or should die before having rendered his wife pregnant, his family have the right to have seed raised up to him by the woman by a male relation of his appointed for the purpose. This latter is called *mboho* (bull), and his sole function is to cause the deceased man's wife to bear children, which are regarded as being, *by cattle*, the children of the deceased. Either an elder or a younger brother may fulfil this duty in respect of his deceased brother, and in the absence of brothers, parallel cousins or even brother's children are appointed. In these cases, when the woman refuses to entertain her proposed new husband, some arrangement will be made to choose someone of the family of the deceased who is more to her liking. But she cannot refuse to entertain some one of her husband's family. The latter's action in this matter might depend to some extent on their financial position ; thus, they might elect to send the woman back to her people and claim the return of the *thakha* cattle already paid. But as, in that case, they would suffer the loss of the *ndzadzi* beast, as well as the other presents and expenses which are not considered part of the *thakha*, this course is extremely rare, and they usually proceed with the contract arranged previously. They have the right to give the woman to a second husband, even if she has already borne children to the first, although this is not universally agreed upon by all informants ; but the general attitude certainly seems to be that a woman should continue to bear children to the limit of her natural

capacity. In these cases, there is also slight disagreement among informants as to the status of the children begotten by the second husband. It is claimed that, if the first husband has had children by the woman and a second husband subsequently obtains her, the children of the latter union are not seed of the deceased but children of the second husband in his own right.

In view of the *thakha*, however, one feels that this is a departure from the rule that the cattle beget the children in the name of the person on whose behalf they have been paid over, and the more original and truer Venda law would appear to be that the second husband can have no claim to a woman's children unless, as is sometimes done, *thakha* is paid in his name either to her family if it is still owing to them, or to the house of his predecessor if the full amount originally agreed upon for the woman has already been transferred. The rule found among the BaHuruthse that if a senior male relation takes over the woman her subsequent children are his own does not exist among the Venda tribes. The same rules hold good in cases where the man is still alive, but incapable of begetting children, when there can arise no question that the children begotten for him by the *mboho* he chooses to appoint are absolutely his own, and not those of his deputy.

In this connection, we may mention a curious extension of the principle that a man's line must continue, which is illustrated by the procedure sometimes adopted in the case of a man dying unmarried and therefore without legal issue, especially if he be the only one male in his house. In this case a woman will be *mala'd* in his name with *thakha* belonging to his house, and the children begotten by this woman by a deputy appointed for the purpose will be considered to be his, just as the woman so *mala'd* is considered to be his wife.

We come now to the cases where a man and his family are prevented, through a misfortune or delinquency on the part of the woman or her family, from enjoying the rights for which he has contracted in respect of her. Before doing so, however, it would seem appropriate to indicate here that such rights obtain from the moment an understanding has been arrived at that the woman is to be his wife, *i.e.*, in some cases, even before she is born. Since the *thakha* gives him the right to all of her reproductive power, it follows that he is entitled to any children she may have before her marriage to him, unless she contracts a previous legal marriage, in which case the amount of *thakha* he would pay in respect of her would be considerably less. This latter exception is, however, quite rare, since once a

woman is married into a family, some arrangement will always be made to retain her in that family in the event of her first marriage being in any way dissolved, and she will not, except in a few exceptional instances, pass into another family as we have hypothetically stated. Should she have an irregular ante-nuptial union, however, it would appear that he would be entitled to the child, if any exists of that union. Some informants maintain that her father must also hand over to him the amount of the fine paid by her seducer in that case, but this is not universally admitted. It is certain, however, that in the event of any post-nuptial transgression on her part a resulting child would belong to her husband, and not to her seducer, though the latter would, of course, have to pay the fine to the husband. It may be said here, in parenthesis, that this rule, in its difference from the Sotho rule about the law of seduction, is subject to abuses to which the latter rule is not exposed. There the seducer pays the fine and takes the child ; here the seducer does not get the child, and the party whose rights have been trespassed upon gets both child and fine. The consequence is that with the connivance of the woman men are often trapped by the party who eventually benefits into an irregular union with her, for the sake of the gain they get from her transgression.

Of post-nuptial delicts on the part of the woman other than adultery, we may consider first those cases where, whether through her barrenness or her death, she is unable to bear, or to continue bearing children. Both a barren woman and a deceased wife must be replaced by her family in the person of a second female member of her family, for whom they cannot then claim any further *thakha* from the husband, except in cases where the woman has already borne children before her death, when, though they are obliged to find a second wife for the husband, they may claim *thakha*, though again the amount of this second *thakha* would usually be made considerably less than it would be otherwise. The substituted wife would then bear children to her husband either by him or by an eventual deputy ; and she would bear them in the name of the deceased or barren woman, not in her own name.

Cases have occurred, though rarely, where a woman has acted as substitute, although she was already married ; but in those cases the original husband of the substitute wife had either not paid *thakha* in full or some return was made to him in respect of the children his wife bore to the house of the deceased or barren woman. The rule found among the BaHuruthse in respect of *seantlo* relations, that the

original husband of the substitute wife was not entitled to any compensation for the breaking of the contract in his case, appears to be a unique exception to the general law about *thakha* contracts, and does not hold among the VhaVenda.

The woman's family are, however, under no obligation to find a substitute wife for the man if his former wife has borne him children to a number commensurate with the amount of the *thakha* paid, and cannot be forced to do so in respect of any balance of *thakha* owing, and which the husband is willing to pay, except by mutual agreement. On the other hand, the husband of a deceased woman may elect to return to her family any children she has borne to him, and claim a refund of his *thakha*, subject to the general rule about such refunds ; and such right is possessed *a fortiori* by the husband of a barren woman, though with a view to his own financial loss if he claims return of *thakha* he will naturally endeavour to obtain a substitute from her family.

The husband would appear to have no claim whatever if his wife's children are still-born or die in infancy ; cases exist where a woman has borne child after child but has been unable to rear any of them to maturity. Any arrangement that may then be made by her family to accommodate her husband with a woman who is not so unfortunate is purely an act of grace not often performed, and the lot of such women like that of barren wives is very hard indeed.

A further type of delict on the part of the woman or her family consists of those cases where the woman leaves her husband maliciously or where she is sent away by him for a good or sufficient cause, and if no reconciliation can be effected between husband and wife in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of her and his family, an adjustment will be made on the lines of the general rule covering refund of *thakha* which has been repeatedly cited above. In such cases a substitute wife is rarely sought. The most usual arrangement is for the *thakha* to be retained by the woman's family for the most part, though often a return of one or even two beasts is made to appease the husband ; he retains the right over all the children, the minor ones remaining with their mother but returning to their father when they are grown up. If the woman contracts a subsequent marriage, the man would immediately claim the return of a much larger part of the *thakha*. But these cases are rare, since few men will consent to take such a woman to wife.

The principles which hold good in this complex in respect of commoners are applied with little variation to the case of chiefs. The *thakha* for a chief's wife, however, is derived from the funds of the tribe either by a special levy or more often simply from the stock of tribal (*vhuhosi*) cattle held in the chief's family. When, as a consequence of the breaking of a *mala* contract in such a family, the *thakha* is returned, the contributors do not get their shares back, as would be the case with commoners.

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# THE INQWALA CEREMONY OF THE SWAZIS.

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By P. A. W. COOK, M.A., B.Ed.

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## PLAN OF THE INQWALA CEREMONY.

PREPARATIONS.—Pilgrimage to the sea. Return with no moon.

SMALL INQWALA.—Chief goes in with dying moon and comes out with new moon.

*1st day* : Chief goes into the “intlambelo.”

*2nd day* : Early morning. Luma. Dancing.

BIG INQWALA.—*1st day* : Evening. Full moon. Collection of Sekwane.

*2nd day* : Sekwane and “intlambelo” built.

*3rd day* : Collection of Amacembe leaves.  
(5 p.m. Black Bull killed.)

*4th day* : 5 a.m. luma.

2 p.m., Inqwala.

3.30 p.m., ukucuga.

5 p.m., uselwa.

*5th day* : Ukutila.

*6th day* : 3 p.m., Burning of bones of Black Bull and of remains of pumpkin.

This is the name given to the Feast of the First Fruits, which is performed every year among the Swazi. Nobody, of either sex or of whatever age, is allowed to eat any of the new season's products until this ceremony has been performed.

The word is pronounced sometimes as *inqwala* and sometimes as *incwala*. It is doubtful which of the two is the more correct.

## HISTORY.

This ceremony originated amongst the Amandwane or Abenguni, who are to-day called Mkatshwa in Swaziland. The Swazi chief, Somhlolo, sent to Zwide for a man expert in the ceremony to come and perform it amongst the Swazis. Accordingly, one Dhludhlume was sent and the rites are to-day in the charge of Vanyana, a descendant of Zwide and of Dhludhlume.

It will be seen that the pilgrimage to fetch sea-water strongly suggests that the rite was imported from the littoral.

**PREPARATIONS.**—The kraal of the doctor in charge of the rites, Vanyana, is called Elwandle (at the sea). This belongs to the king and Vanyana is in charge of it.

Prior to the pilgrimage to the sea, Vanyana and a couple of men go to the Royal Kraal for the calabash in which the sea-water is to be carried and which is kept at the Royal Kraal. A black beast is killed and a portion of the skin is used to cover the calabash. There are no special words said and the killing is just as in the ordinary way. The “inyongo” or gall-bladder is squeezed over the calabash. They return to the ‘Elwandle’ and there wait until the time arrives for setting out for the sea.

The party sets out for the sea in December so that their return may coincide with the absence of a moon at night. Any place at the sea will do. The party travels by day and sleeps at kraals at night. On arrival at the sea the party goes just before sunrise to the shore and, all naked, they sing the “Inqwala” song and fill the calabash. On the return journey, on arriving at a kraal, the party loudly sings the praises of the chief, calling out his “izibongo” or praise-names. This is an intimation to the head of the kraal to kill a beast—it is not a sacrifice. The gall-bladder and the tail is tied to the calabash. This is done at every kraal at which the party calls. It is the custom that anybody met on the road by this party must pay a small fine or lose some of his personal property. This is called “ukuhlamahlama.”

The party delivers the calabash and waits for the Inqwala to commence. The sea-water is used in the preparation of medicines by Vanyana, the doctor, and not in the ceremonies that follow.

### THE SMALL INQWALA (*inqwala lencane*).

This begins when the king goes into a special hut called the “intlambelo.” He goes in the afternoon at about sunset with the doctor and the petty chiefs. In the afternoon a beast has been

killed. It belongs to the doctors and is not a sacrifice but parts are used as medicines. During the night herbs and roots are cooked with new mealies, pumpkin and *sugar cane*. Very early in the morning, before sunrise, the king chews a little of this concoction and spits first to the east and then to the west. Only the chief does this, and what remains is eaten up by his two "intsila" or left- and right-hand blood brothers.

On this second day of the small Inqwala the dancing commences and nobody does any work, but all foregather at the Great Place. They dance in the cattle kraal, men, women and children. One of the songs is :—

"Uyamzonda izizwe zonke."

All the nations hate him.

It is noteworthy that the Inqwala songs may be sung only on the special days of the Inqwala and at the death of a king. They may on no account be sung at any other time under threat of severe punishment by the king. Other songs are given below.

The beginning of the small Inqwala coincides with the dying moon, so that the king comes out of the "Inhlambelo" with the new moon.

Until the big Inqwala the people are still prevented from eating the new fruits. They carry on their normal life but sing the Inqwala songs.

#### INQWALA ELIKULU.

This ceremony lasts six days. On the afternoon after the rising of the full moon, "red and round," all the young men (*amagaia*) go off to collect a shrub known as "Sekwane" which grows in the low veld. This is usually collected near the Usutu river beyond the Gunundueini Kraal, but this is purely as a matter of convenience and has no ritual meaning. The plant is picked just as the moon rises above the horizon to the accompaniment of the following song :—

"Dhzi, a ho, ho, siyamndunduzela, uyakula ongangezewe."  
dhzi, a ho, ho."

The young men now return to the kraal, arriving when the sun is well up.

The men who collect "Sekwane" are supposed to be unmarried. If a married man or a man who has had connection with the wife or betrothed girl of another man is present his "Sekwane" will wilt. Such a man is turned out of the regiment as an adulterer. All the

“Sekwane” is used to build the “Inhlambelo” kraal in which the Paramount Chief performs part of the Inqwala ceremonies. This “inhlambelo” is built in the cattle kraal.

*On the 3rd day* is performed the killing of the bull. Only young unmarried men can “catch” the bull.

In the late afternoon a black bull is driven into the “inhlambelo” kraal, where the Paramount Chief is waiting. He strikes the bull with a special stick and cries, “Here it is, young men,” and drives it out to the young men. They catch it with their hands and carry it back into the “inhlambelo,” where they pummel it practically to death. The doctor stabs it at the “Intlakomo” and opens it up so that the young men can rip out the “umgquomo” to kill it. The doctor then skins it to take out certain of the entrails for medicines. The gall bladder is emptied and is hung on the Paramount Chief’s breast the next day.

Early in the morning, little boys go out and collect “Amacembe” leaves, which they use to fill in the spaces in the wall of “Sekwane,” thus making it opaque.

The meat of this beast is eaten by the small boys of the kraal, not by the regiments. This ceremony is said to be symbolical of the valour of the young warriors and also indicates the full authority of the Chief and the passing of the old year.

*4th day at 5 a.m.*

#### THE LUMA CEREMONY.

Herbs and roots have been cooked in a pot with new mealies, pumpkin and sugar cane. The doctor gives a little of each of the constituents of the stew-pot first to the Right Intsila, who chews the mixture in his mouth, spits then to the east and west, spits a little in his hands and rubs his joints. Then the Paramount Chief performs this ceremony and then the Left Intsila followed by the male members of the Royal Family.

Ordinary people will carry out this rite at home by themselves after the Big Inqwala is over.

The Amagaia do not luma. For them the bringing of the “Sekwane” leaves is the equivalent.

#### THE INQWALA DANCE.

At midday this dance commences. The Inqwala songs are sung. The Inqwala songs may be sung only from the beginning of the moon, i.e., starting with the Small Inqwala, and are sung up to the end of

the Big Inqwala. They are absolutely taboo at any other time of the year and a heavy fine is imposed on anyone who dares to sing them at other times. The words were secured only with the greatest difficulty.

Examples are :—

- (1) *Uyamzonda zonke izizwe.*  
All the nations hate him.
- (2) *Hoza, hoza, lapa inkosi yamankosi.*  
Hoza, hoza, here is the chief of chiefs.
- (3) *Duma pantse bakuzwe ngezinyawo.*  
It is heard roaring on the ground with their feet.

There are two special songs sung only on this fourth day of the Inqwala just before the "Cunga" ceremony. They are :—

- (1) *Abahambi bakona.*  
The travellers are present.
- (2) *Banjengezulu liduma.*  
They are like the heavens that roar.

The chief, who has been dancing with his soldiers in the Inqwala dance, is escorted by them to the "Nhlambelo" kraal.

### CUNGA.

After the Inqwala dance the chief is anointed with various black medicines by Vanyana. It is smeared on his face and mouth. During the Cunga Ceremony, the Paramount Chief eats a pumpkin (*uselwa*), which has been specially prepared for him. He throws the remains and another pumpkin which has come from the Ubumbo to the regiments waiting outside. This is caught and returned to the doctors. This indicates that the fruits of the new season may be eaten.

Vanyana goes into seclusion, this is called "ukutila," to do nothing. He remains in one special hut, the hut of his wife, known as "isula msiti," and the "Nhlambelo" the whole of the next day and until the following morning, when he is washed in the "Nhlambelo" and in the river.

### THE SULA MSITI.

During the "ukutila" period of seclusion, the king may cohabit only with the wife known as *sula msiti*.

It must be noticed that the Great Wife of the Swazi chiefs was only appointed such *after* the death of the husband, because it was

not known who would be successor to the chieftainship. The chief married two women, the big *Isisula msiti* and the little *isisula msiti*, and the former from the Matebula clan and the latter from the Mote. Neither of these two women ever carried anything on their heads. The *isisula msiti* (big) is thus the chief wife, but does not provide the heir.

### UKUTILA.

No person during the *ukutila* may scratch his person in the Royal Kraal or he is fined by the others. The people rise very early in the morning, and anyone found sleeping on a mat is fined.

*6th day.*

### UKUNI.

Early on the morning of the second day after the pumpkin has been thrown to the regiments, they go out and collect firewood. This is piled up in the centre of the cattle kraal and the bones of the black bull are placed on top, as well as the remains of the pumpkin. The pile is fired. When the smoke from the burning bones goes up, the people are freed from the *ukutila* (the period of seclusion) and all prepare for the dance which opens the new year.

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## THE "LITTLE RAIN" (*PULANYANA*) CEREMONY OF THE BECHUANALAND BAKXATLA.

By I. SCHAPERA, M.A., PH.D.

In a recent article on the rain-making ritual of the BaPedi, Dr. W. Eiselen describes certain rites which do not appear to have been previously recorded from any South African Bantu tribe.<sup>1</sup> Every year, soon after the ploughing has been done, the immature boys of the tribe are sent by the chief to peg down doctored sticks at the end of all the main roads leading out of the tribal territory, while the immature girls go through all the cultivated lands, sprinkling doctored water over the soil and singing the traditional rain songs. The outstanding feature of these rites, as Dr. Eiselen points out, is that they form a regular part of the annual agricultural ritual, and are not resorted to only in case of drought, as is the case with other rain-making ceremonies. I have now been able to establish the occurrence of rites almost identical in nature amongst the BaKxatla baxaKxafêla of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and as it is therefore probable that they may be still more widespread, at least among the Sotho-Tswana tribes, the following preliminary notes are here published in the hope that they will stimulate further inquiry into the subject.<sup>2</sup>

This ceremony is known to the BaKxatla as the *pulanyana* or "little rain" ceremony. It was formerly held every year at the beginning of the agricultural season, and was regarded as an essential part of the customary agricultural ritual. According to some of my informants, no ploughing at all could be done until it had been celebrated, but the majority maintained that it usually took place after the ploughing had been commenced. Nowadays, owing to the fact that Christianity has long been accepted as the official religion of the

<sup>1</sup>"Die eintlike Reendiens van die BaPedi." *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxv. (1928), pp. 387-392.

<sup>2</sup>The details given below were obtained during the course of a field-work expedition (October, 1929—February, 1930), generously financed by the School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town. My principal informants were MaKxari Pilane and several other old women in consultation; RaKxomo Sexale, an old *nyaka* (magician); RaKabane Monametse, a recognised authority on tribal custom; and Molefi Molefi and Molefe Sexoxwane, two youths who had fairly recently taken part in the rites.

tribe, the ceremony has ostensibly been completely abandoned, its place being taken by the annual *thapelô ya pula*, "prayer for rain," a Church festival conducted by the chief and the missionary. But in case of drought the *pulanyana* is still frequently resorted to, as for example was the case in 1925 and again in 1927, although its performance is kept fairly secret, in order not to offend too openly the susceptibilities of the missionary and the more active Church members. In these changed circumstances the ceremony, when it is held, naturally takes place somewhat later in the agricultural season than was formerly the case, and is generally performed when the corn has already shot up and the important second rains are unduly delayed.

The direction of the ceremony lies in the hands of the chief, assisted by his *morôka wa pula*, "rain-maker." It is performed only at Mochudi, the main stad of the BaKxatla, and not at any of the outlying villages of the tribe. When it is decided that the rites should be performed, the chief instructs the *kxósana* ("headman") of each *kxóro* ("ward" of the town) to select from the families under his charge suitable girls to take part in the ceremony. These must be young girls of about the same age who have not yet had their first menstrual period. They are told by their fathers that on the following morning they must all go to the main tribal *kxótla* (courtyard), each bringing with her a small cooking pot of the ordinary type which has been blackened by long use over the fire. At the *kxótla* the chief tells them to go down to the river to fetch water in their pots. They all go to the same spot, fill up their pots, and as they walk back again carrying the pots on their heads they start singing the traditional rain songs, with whose words they have long been familiar through hearing the older women sing them. On arriving at the *kxótla* they are taken by the chief into the sacred rain enclosure, *xótlwana sa pula*. This enclosure, which is fenced in like an ordinary goat kraal, is situated on a koppie in the quarters of the late chief Lentswe, and is within easy reach of the *kxótla*. It may not be entered save on ceremonial occasions, or without the permission of the chief, and neither nubile girls nor women still capable of bearing children may ever put foot inside it. Here the girls find a very large pot, *sethsaxa sa pula* (pot of the rain), in which the rain-maker has already placed a mixture of various rain "medicines" (*dithlare*). These medicines are mostly roots and bulbs, such as those of the *mothlware* (*Olea verrucosa*), *téjang*, *kxóphane* and *moxaza*, which are beaten together (not cooked), and mixed with the fat of the mamba and the domestic pig. The girls pour the water from

their pots into the *sethsaxa*, still singing, and as each girl empties out her pot the rain-maker stirs the medicines in the water. The girl then leaves her pot turned face downwards in the enclosure, and goes home.

Early the following morning the girls come together again in the *kxôtla*, and are once more taken by the chief to the *xôilwana*, where they are told to fill up their pots with the medicated water from the *sethsaxa sa pula*. They are then sent out to the cultivated lands in small parties, each party, consisting of girls belonging to the same *kxôro*, being directed to a different part of the lands. Before they set out it is arranged that all the parties should come together again in the late afternoon at some appointed spot outside the stad. A few of the bigger boys (*maxwane*) from each *kxôro* accompany the girls, in order to guide them through the lands and afterwards to the rendezvous. From the time they leave the *xôilwana* until they return in the evening the girls may not eat or drink anything at all, and they must also wear native costume only, all European garments and ornaments being discarded. Each party, as it comes to the lands to which it has been directed, walks right through them, sprinkling the medicated water over the soil by means of *mosethla* twigs (*Peltophorum africanum*), which they keep dipping in their pots. The women out at the lands must refrain from doing any work on them this day; it is *moila*, taboo, and any woman seen working can be whipped by the girls. When they have finished the sprinkling they make for the rendezvous, and as soon as all the girls have assembled they return straight to the *kxôtla*. As they go along they sing the various rain songs. On reaching the *kxôtla*, where the chief and the rain-maker are awaiting them, they shout out *a e tlôpotlôpo pula, a e tlôpotlôpo pula*, "let the rain patter down, let the rain patter down," imitating the patterning of the rain by rapidly moving their hands up and down. They are then dismissed by the chief to their homes, although sometimes they are first given some food to eat at the *kxôtla*.

The following are some of the rain songs sung on this occasion :

*Lexakabe la xa pula ya medupe,  
le rile kwale, la re ntlôpotlôpo.*

The white-necked crow of the gently-falling rain  
has said " over there," it said " pitter-patter."

(Leader) *Pulanyana*  
(Chorus)      *hônti, hônti,*

(Leader) *Tlo o ne,*  
 (Chorus) *hôni, hônti.*

Little rain,  
*hônti, hônti.*  
*Come and fall,*  
*hônti, hônti.*

*Pula wee, pula wee-e,*  
*a e ne thoba, thoba di xoroxe,*  
*a e buse matsema kwa masimông,*  
*a e buse dikxomo kwa madisông,*  
*e buse borré kwa xo rêmeng,*  
*le boommé kwa masimông.*

O rain, O rain,  
 let it rain (from) the teats, the teats have arrived,<sup>1</sup>  
 let it bring back sowing-parties from the fields,  
 let it bring back cattle from the pastures,  
 bring back fathers from felling trees,  
 and mothers from the fields.

*Metsi a kae, moxôxe wee,*  
*thôkôlo ya metsi a pula, moxôxe wee,*  
*thôkôlo ya metsi a pula.*

Where is the water, *moxôxe wee*,  
 the droppings of rain water, *moxôxe wee*,  
 the droppings of rain water ?

*Morena re fe pula,*  
*re tswa molapo Senametse,*  
*Isang re fe pula,*  
*re tswa molapo Senametse,*  
*Molefí re fe pula,*  
*re tswa molapo Senametse,*  
*Morôka re fe pula,*  
*re tswa molapo Senametse.*  
*Marena re feng pula,*  
*re tswa molapo Senametse.*

<sup>1</sup> *dithoba*, “teats,” is here used figuratively in the sense of teats in the sky from which the rain comes.

Chief, give us rain,  
 we come from the valley which-has-no-water.<sup>1</sup>  
 Isang,<sup>2</sup> give us rain,  
 we come from the valley which-has-no-water,  
 Molefi,<sup>3</sup> give us rain,  
 we come from the valley which-has-no-water.  
 Rain-maker, give us rain,  
 we come from the valley which-has-no-water,  
 Chiefs, give us rain,  
 we come from the valley which-has-no-water.

About the same time<sup>4</sup> as the young girls perform this rite, the immature boys of the tribe (*basimane*) are also summoned by the chief to the *kxótlá*, and then led by him to his *lapa* (household yard). Here they find the rain-maker standing by a large pot in which there is water doctored with the various rain medicines. The rain-maker pours this water into the hollow horns of cattle, which he distributes among the boys, two boys being appointed to each horn. Each boy is also given a switch cut from the *moretlwa* bush (*Grewia cana*). They are then sent out into the veld in different directions, and are told that whenever they come to a cross-road they must pour a little of the water on the ground and then lash the spot with their switches, saying, as they do so, *pula a e ne*, let it rain. (In one instance they were directed to dig a small hole at the place, pour in a little of the medicated water, then cover up the hole and whip the spot three times in the manner described.) They keep on in this way until their medicine is finished, and then return in the evening to the *kxótlá*. During the time they are out in the veld they must not enter anywhere to eat or to drink, nor may they greet or address any persons they meet. After they have all come together in the *kxótlá*, they are again taken to the chief's *lapa*. As they come in, the rain-maker says to them *pula*, rain, and they all shout after him *pula, pula*. He then dips his *seditse* (whisk of tail hairs) in the *sethsaxa*, and sprinkles the doctored water over the boys. They are now given something to eat by the chief, and are then dismissed to their homes, with the injunction that they must keep secret where they have been, and that they must also abstain for about three weeks from any sour food (e.g., beer or sour porridge).

<sup>1</sup>A figurative expression for distress and poverty.

<sup>2</sup>The former regent of the tribe.

<sup>3</sup>The present chief of the tribe.

<sup>4</sup>My older informants were uncertain as to the exact time when this particular rite was performed, but the younger ones stated that when they took part in it, it was held on the same day as the girls sprinkled the fields.

With this the *pulanyana* ceremony comes to an end.\* If the rain still does not come, it may be repeated, but generally other ceremonies of a more elaborate nature are then performed. These I hope to discuss in the near future, but there was one particular ceremony of which I was told which has something in common with the *pulanyana*, and which may therefore be briefly mentioned here. During the early years of the late chief Lentswe's reign, before he had accepted Christianity, there was a prolonged drought which caused much distress to the tribe. The chief selected several of his near relatives, and sent them with a black ox to Saulspoort in the Western Transvaal (the old home of the tribe), where they were to sacrifice the animal on the grave of his father Kxamanyane. They were accompanied by a number of young girls from the royal *kxóro* (*Kxosing*), each carrying with her a small black pot which they filled with water as soon as they got to Saulspoort. The party then proceeded to Kxamanyane's grave, over which the girls sprinkled the water. The ox was then slaughtered and skinned, and its stomach contents poured on to the grave, the men at the same time praying : *setšaba se a lla, re fe pula, kxosi*, the tribe is weeping, give us rain, O chief. The meat of the ox was then roasted, and eaten by the men and girls, but all the bones were carefully collected and also put on the grave. Next day the whole party returned to the Protectorate. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave of a dead chief is one of the major rain-making ceremonies of the BaKxatla, and its details are far more elaborate than here described, but this particular occasion was the only one mentioned to me at which water was sprinkled over the grave by the young girls.

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\*The pegging of the boundaries described by Dr. Eiselen does not form part of this ceremony among the BaKxatla, but is one of the rites employed by them in the "ceremonial purification of the land" (*xo thlapisa lefathse*).

# THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF LUBWAND, CONGO BELGE

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BY W. F. P. BURTON

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It would seem that from his earliest years the Luban child is prepared in a special way for secret-society life and specially that which flavours of a sexual nature. The clubs, mysterious practices, etc., all have their roots in the early training of the child.

## KWIKANA.

Little girls are sent out by their parents, in groups of from four to ten, to a secret rendezvous in the forests, to enlarge certain parts of the body artificially, in supposed preparation for motherhood. This custom continues from seven or eight years of age until the end of the *Butanda* ceremony, and is called "*kwikana*." The genital organs are rubbed internally and externally with a creeper called "*kiulamulundu*," the juice of which makes the flesh swell. Pieces of wood are inserted, and occasionally the girls resort also to bleeding and cupping.

Apparently this treatment does not give much pain, but causes some irritation. After three or four days the swelling begins to deflate showing a condition known as "*kuonga*," after which the treatment must be repeated, until the swelling becomes permanent.

So big a part does this artificial enlargement play in Native life that a girl who is not sufficiently enlarged has not the same chances of a good marriage. A case came to our notice where the husband of a poor woman boasted that his wife had bigger labia and clitoris than the wives of Chief \_\_\_\_\_. Whether it was true or no, at least it came to the chief's ears, and he vented his jealousy upon her by seizing her and ordering that the parts should be burnt to reasonable proportions with a red-hot iron.

All this is carried on under the veil of the most profound secrecy, while when the girl undergoing the "*butanda*" ceremony is given the fowl's flesh to eat, she is told that if she dares to divulge any hint of it to the outside world she herself will become barren and her parents will die in agony.

## KUTWELA MWISAO.

In the same way the boy's passage from youth to manhood is marked by a secret ceremony. This always takes place in the month of June, which is the coldest month, and the freshness of the air is supposed to lessen the pain. The youngster is sent to a certain place near the river, "To see whether there is a red-legged partridge in the noose." The Native name for a noose is "*nkinga*." These nooses are set across the paths, and the child goes all unsuspecting, to find the nooses, when he is suddenly gripped from behind, by a man who holds the title of "*nkinga*" in the ceremony which follows. He is taken to a little clearing, where a long light shed has been erected. He is placed on his back, on a bed of fresh banana leaves, with his hands held tightly behind him, and while the "*nkinga*" grasps him firmly, another man, named the "*ntambo*" or lion, deftly inserts a stick into the foreskin, and cutting against this stick, removes the whole foreskin. The Baluba are not content to have the upper part of the skin removed, as is the practice with Jews and most Europeans, but it must be cut away entirely, after which the sore left exposed is rubbed with powdered red capsicums, and the youngster is sent to lie in a row with others, until the cool of the day, when he may sit for awhile in the river to cool his pain. Henceforward three times a day or more, for a month, he sits in the water. The pain is not usually intense at first, but from the third to the sixth day the suffering is said to be terrible.

During all the time of isolation no woman or girl is allowed near, and all sorts of silly tales are invented, to explain to the girls the reason for their brothers' absence, and to deepen the mystery surrounding the circumcision ceremony. The mothers prepare manioc flour and leave it at a distance, where the boys can prepare their own food. For the greater part they sit naked, though sometimes they wear a few big "*mulolo*" leaves tied about the waist.

If during the month they catch sight of the "*ntambo*," the boys are allowed to heap insult and reproach upon him to their hearts' content, (and we have heard these suffering youngsters say the most shocking things). He takes it all in good part, and is not allowed to reply. Sometimes they will pelt him with clods of earth, but he smiles and regards it all as a part of the proceedings.

Until recently if the wounded parts did not suppurate and fester freely, the boy was considered a weakling, and incapable of fatherhood, while it is not uncommon for boys to die as a result of the circumcision wounds festering. Usually one or two of the sufferers linger on for two or even three months before their wounds are healed, but nowadays we

are able to advise the *nkinga*, giving him ointment, etc., whereby the whole thing is healed up in a fortnight or so.

During the waiting time they are under the special care and instruction of the *nkinga*. He commences by teaching them disgusting songs, with which to keep up their spirits and to make the night hideous. Then later he teaches them much of a private and sexual nature, though probably all the youngsters have known much of it ever since they could remember. Some of this instruction is natural and useful, but it is mixed with much that is immoral and harmful.

The spot in the stream where they sit is called the “*muyolo*,” and as the stream-side is generally thickly forested it often happens that several little groups of boys are within a few hundred yards of each other and cooling their sufferings at the same *muyolo*. These groups visit each other, boast of their sexual capabilities, and indulge in much disgusting speculation, so that while circumcision seems a clean and healthful measure for a hot country, the association of the *mwisao* or circumcision camp more than counteracts the good done.

About Lake Kisale, where there is plenty of water all the year round, the Natives do not circumcise, but many of them practise their ablutions three times a day throughout their entire lives, so that inflammation, and other objectionable features which might be expected to follow lack of circumcision, are rare, and moreover the fact that secret societies whose aims are sexual, have very little hold in those villages, strengthens the contention that the ceremonies of “*kwikana*,” *ku twela* “*umbutanda*” and “*kutwela mwisao*” form a natural seed-bed into which to sow the very features upon which such growths as “*Bumbudye*” flourish.

When the children are healed of their circumcision, they naturally feel shy about re-entering the village, and their departure from the *mwisao* is precipitated by another ceremony, known as “*ku subula mwisao*.” The boys are made to crouch in tiny little grass huts, while their male friends stand ready with gravel and small stones. At a signal the *nkinga* sets fire to the back of the little huts, and the lads have to bolt for the stream, pelted by their friends until they dive into the *muyolo*. They are then said to be cleansed and fit to return to the village. On their appearance in public the youths boast of having left boyhood behind. They chase away the uncircumcised children, and the latter look up to these newly-made “men” with awe and respect. They take a present of a fowl or some dried fish to the *ntambo* as a recompense for his services.

It is unfortunate that this ceremony is regarded so essentially as fitting the participants for fatherhood, for to express it in the words of a

Christian headman, "If a man has a gun, he will doubtless want to shoot," and the return of these children to the village is often marked by actions which culminate in weakness and disease, long before the advent of normal manhood.

#### "BUTANDA CEREMONY" AND "KU PUTA DIMI."

The *Butanda* Ceremony. An initiation into womanhood.

Just as circumcision marks the boy's exit from childhood, and entrance into manhood, so the *butanda* is the line of demarcation between the girl and the woman. Moreover as circumcision is supposed to fit a man for fatherhood, so it is believed that if a girl does not go through the *Butanda* ceremony, she will either be barren, or else bear a "child of misfortune"—*mwana wa malwa*. Therefore the girls' mothers are insistent that their daughters shall go through the initiation.

Any woman who has herself gone through the *butanda*, may initiate another. She, the one who initiates, is called the "*inamutanda*," and until recently the girl was not considered fit for the ceremony until she was within a year or two of maturity.

Strictly speaking there are two ceremonies, the first being "*ku mu twela butanda*"—"to cause her to enter the *butanda*," and the second after a year or so "*Ku mu lupula butanda*"—"to fetch her out of the *butanda*."

*Ku twela umbutanda*. A big brew of beer is first prepared, and when this is ready, the girl is carried out of her hut in the evening, and laid on a mat, where she must stay, covered by a cloth. Her friends also sleep out on their mats on the ground, each making a little fire for herself. In the morning the *inamutanda* kills a fowl, and gives the girl the raw heart to eat, (it is supposed to be the heart, but more often it is actually the liver), after which she is told that she has received a woman's heart. The rest of the fowl is then cooked whole, and the girl eats it with a little millet, sharing this meal with the *inamutanda*. The girl is allowed nothing till next morning. In eating this fowl the greatest care is taken not to break a bone, it being believed that if she breaks a bone, her offspring will be born with broken bones. Thus we have known a young man to give up the girl to whom he was engaged, because she was said to have broken the bone of her *butanda* fowl, and thus incapacitated herself for healthy motherhood. The unbroken bones of the fowl are buried carefully, wrapped in leaves and pillowled in its feathers. From the time that the girl has been placed on the mat, she must not step off it for twenty-four hours. If she needs anything, it is brought to her, and when she wishes to "go into the forest," she is carried.

At sunset the girl is free. Throughout this ceremony all the women dance the “*makuku*” clapping with their hands and singing, while the men drum and drink beer, but the girl herself lies perfectly still under her cloth, on the mat.

*The intervening year between the ceremonies.* The girl is now regarded as in a state of suspense between her childhood and her maturity. She is not allowed to do any work, and indeed she may not dip water out of the waterpot, or pinch her own lumps from the “*nshima*”—(the great lump of stiff manioc porridge which is the staple article of food). Water must be handed to her, and those who eat with her must pinch off her mouthfuls of food, though she herself may dip them into the accompanying sauce or relish. It would be considered very improper for her to lift a load, or to wash herself. She must be washed by others. She may, however, nurse a baby. If during this intervening period she dies, the girl is buried without ceremony. They will not even wrap her in a mat, but smear her with ashes and push her unceremoniously into a shallow grave. They say “*ka lupukile ku toka.*” She has not come out into purification. If however she eventually reaches the normal end of the *butanda*, and goes through the second ceremony, then the women relatives weep with joy, saying “*Wa lupuka pa toka.*” She has come out into purification.

During this waiting period she is arrayed in beads of a special design, and wears the “*butembo*” cloth between her legs and over her shoulder.

*Ku mu lupula umbutanda.* When the *mutanda*, or initiate, has given evidence on three successive months of her maturity, the relatives again prepare a beer drink, called “*kibambula nsamba,*” and call the neighbours to an all-night dance.

The girl is once more laid out and covered with a cloth, while the old rags which she has used while unwell are secretly stirred into the foaming beer, after which they are hidden away, great care being taken that the *nanga* or medicine man should not get hold of them, and thus “*yola*” her, or gain mastery over her spirit.

The women alone dance, while the men drum, blow pan-pipes, and drink the doctored beer, though many of them are quite aware of what has been stirred into it. The *mutanda* may not step from the mat herself, but from time to time the women lift her on to their shoulders and dance with her. It is believed that this ceremony causes the community to give the girl her rightful place as a fully developed woman, though nowadays the parents are so eager to get the money for their daughters,

that they do not wait for the reasonable signs of their development, but allow them to be married at ten or eleven years of age, for which cause they are put through the *butanda* ceremony at a very early age. The girl is specially decorated and smeared with whitewash for this latter *butanda* ceremony, in evidence of the joy that she has come through it safely.

#### THE CEREMONY OF KU PUTA DIMI (TO COVER THE FOETUS).

When a girl has conceived her first child, she keeps it secret. As soon, however, as her fellow-villagers detect it, some of her women relatives and neighbours quietly enter the hut where she is asleep at night. One of these women fills her mouth with water, and spouts it into the face of the expectant woman, abusing her loudly in disgusting terms. This is not the ordinary reviling, *Ku Tuka*, but that special sexual filth which goes by the name of *Muntonko*. The woman awakes in a fright, and generally abuses them back. This ceremony is supposed to assure both the expectant mother and expected child against danger and suffering, so that if a woman does not undergo the ceremony, her child is said to be *Wa Malwa Wa Ku Bulwa Ku Puta*—the suffering one through not being covered. ("Puta" the active being, as commonly used as an abbreviation for "putwa" or "putibya" the passive). The ceremony amounts to a public announcement of conception.

After this the expectant mother carries a *Mwana*, a false child, consisting of a piece of grass-cloth in which is wrapped a *Lukuka* of blue and white beads. This is taken upon her shoulder wherever she goes, the badge of the pregnant woman, and if she has to pound meal or sift grain, she hands her "*mwana*" to another woman to care for.

The ceremony is only carried out in the case of the firstborn, excepting in the case of a son inheriting one of his father's wives. She then has to "*puta dimi*" again upon the conception of her first baby to the new husband, even though she may have born children before, to her previous husband. If brother inherits a wife from brother, however, she does not "*puta*" a second time.

Upon the birth of the child, the beads are given to the girl's mother, who wears them as a *Lukuka* about her bosom. The grass-cloth is used to wrap up the newly born baby, but at the same time the father of the child is supposed to present a blanket or piece of cloth to his mother-in-law. This blanket also bears the name of *Lukuka*.

When the baby is old enough not to need the grass-cloth, the dis-

posal of this cloth becomes a matter of particular care, for if a *nanga* got hold of it, he would use it to *Yola* or gain possession of the spirit of the child. Moreover it must not be burned, for burning is supposed to "reverse the *bwanga*" or whatever the article was intended for when unburnt. Thus to burn the grass-cloth which was used to "*puta dimi*" would cause the child to die and make the mother barren. Hence the girl's mother generally takes it far off into the forests, and hides it in a hollow tree.

Kabulwanshimba was one of the great originators of the *Mwanza* line of chiefs. Thus the wives of *Mwanza* chiefs always "*puta dimi*" with a *shimba* skin.

In membership, by far the largest secret-society in Lubaland is the *Bumbudye*.

#### BUMBUDYE.

Ostensibly this is a society of professional dancers, and doubtless many are members for the sake of the gains that they make by really remarkable displays of muscle, agility and skill. On the other hand none in twenty of the members dances more than two or three times, and the deeper aims of this sect are centred, not in the open of the villages, but in the carefully guarded "*kinyengele*" or society-lodge. This club-house is a long low building, in which the whole *Bumbudye* community lives while the society is in session. It is built back in the forests, and the only path to it is guarded by three rows of five gates. Sometimes some of these gates are protected by pit-traps, though this practice is becoming more and more rare.

Their own name for the society is the "*Balwaba*." "*Ku aba*" is to share, and the members are supposed to share all their possessions and gains. As a matter of fact they do not, for there is a special *Budyé* charm, known as "*Manga a toka, a ku tambula buniambu*"—"the white charm for receiving that which is for reception" which certain of the members use in order to enable them to make greater gains than the rest. (This charm is made of twigs and leaves of *Nswachi*, *mukuta*, and *sangala*). However speaking generally, they certainly share their beer, food, entertainment and women, and the laws of the society enforce this most rigidly. If a member wishes for food, he will approach another member with a fifty-centime piece and ask him to sell food. The one asked must add at least a franc of his own. Again one wanting pea-nuts will approach another member with two or three only, asking him to cook them. The one asked must then add a basket of his own pea-nuts. If the visitor

only received the exact 50 cms. worth of food, or only received his own few pea-nuts, this would be called “*Ku tanda bumbudye*” or “*Kutanda ñombe*”—to insult the society, and such behaviour is punished with very heavy fines, or even with torture.

The time not occupied in drinking, dancing, initiating and hearing judgment on crimes, is spent in the “*kinyengele*,” in sexual excess. Any stranger entering must pass a considerable number of tests, conforming in every detail to the manners of the *Bumbudye* society. He is thus recognised as a “*Shabudye*” or member. If he made the least little slip he would be recognised as a “*Ngulungu*” or outsider, and would be fortunate to escape with his life, after the payment of exceedingly heavy fines.

#### THE PLACE OF THE BUMBUDYE IN THE GENERAL VILLAGE LIFE.

The *Bambudye* exercise a very severe influence over all outsiders. When the society is in session, all the world must get off the path to allow a *Shabudye* to pass. An ordinary man who dared to remain seated on a skin or stool, or in the shade of a verandah, when a *Shabudye* passed, would be tied up and made to pay a fine. In the same way, though two men may be the greatest of friends in ordinary, everyday life, if the “*ngulungu*” greeted the “*shabudye*” in the usual terms while the latter was dressed in his regalia, or even if the latter had only just become a member, and was not recognisable from the ordinary public, it would be regarded as a serious crime against the *Bumbudye*, punishable by a fine, for a *Shabudye* must be greeted with the same terms of respect as a chief, “*Vidyeee, Kalombo!*” smearing the body with dust the while. A woman who dares to enter the “*kinyengele*” while “unwell” is said to have insulted the sect, and she is tortured terribly. If a woman join the *Bumbudye*, the husband dare not object. Unless she is unwell, she must attend all the sessions of the society, and be at the service of all its members. We have known husbands who dared to raise objection, tied up, fined and tortured. The leaders of the *Bumbudye* do not even rise to greet the chief. When they are in session, they take a tribute of beer to within a short distance of the chief’s enclosure, standing there to sing one or two songs but it is against the rules to greet even a chief.

Any insult against a member is revenged by the society as a whole, so that at every session they make hundreds of francs from the “*bangu-lungu*,” and receive scores of fowls and several goats etc., as payment for supposed crimes against the *Bumbudye*. It is the *Budyé* boast that they never threaten without carrying their threat into fullest execution.

It will be asked, then, how the Native village as a whole tolerates such abuses and tyranny. The answer to this may be given in terms of a: *Budye* entertainments. b. *Budye* threats. c. *Budye* bribes.

*A. Budye* entertainments.

Life in the Native village is extremely drab and uneventful. Hunting, gardening, fishing and building soon pall and become monotonous. Thus any excitement which relieves this monotony is more than welcome. A "butanda" ceremony, a beer-drink, the smelling out of a "kanzundji," or a *Budye* dance is hailed with delight, as offering some relief from the humdrum tedium of every-day life. They play the same role as a circus or a fair in the rural communities of Europe. Even though some may be fined and beaten, yet this offers a subject for conversation and excitement, so that a *Budye* session and dance are welcome.

*B.* But also the members are scattered through the whole community and often they are not known as *Bambudye*, so that anyone who raised a dissenting voice would be detected speedily and made to pay a heavy fine, or forced to become a member of the sect. Sometimes the spirit is so strong between those who are members and those who are not that it comes to open fighting, in which several lives are lost, but in the long run the *Bambudye* mark opposers, take revenge, and force their will upon the village by poison and torture.

The chiefs are all honorary members of the sect, but even the most powerful chiefs, if it becomes known that they are developing anti-*Budye* tendencies, are kidnapped, tied up in the forests, and not permitted to return to the village until they have "drunk into" the sect, that is, until they have become full-fledged members. Fear therefore keeps the outsider from interfering with the *Budye* activities. Also fear keeps the members from dissension from within, for in the initiation ceremonies, the finger of a new member is held between the teeth of a man hidden in a pit below him, while he confesses all his crimes and follies, the full membership of the society standing about him as witnesses. Hence if anyone would recant and withdraw from the *Bumbudye*, he is threatened with the publicity of the least desirable passages in his past life. Thus this confession secures those who would otherwise secede.

*C.* But neither the excitement of the entertainments nor the fear of their displeasure would protect the *Bumbudye*, apart from the heavy tribute which they give to the chiefs. Few chiefs would willingly forego such a source of income, and thus the chiefs shut their eyes to the excesses of the "kinyengele." Among such bribes, the *Kikungulu*, or head

officer of the sect pays the chief 100 francs at each session, for the right to remain seated in his presence. The dancers also pay a considerable percentage of their takings to the chief, and therefore the latter gives them every encouragement.

#### THE ORGANISATION OF THE BUMBUDYE.

There is no head-quarters for the whole *Bumbudye* sect. Each chieftainship or cluster of villages has its own *Bumbudye* community. Occasionally there is strife between the adjacent communities, and even open fighting, but as a rule they work in harmony, and the dancers from one *kinyengele* will go to visit another, and give a display of dancing. Almost invariably one community becomes stronger than the others about it, and the weaker communities all look up to this one for help and advice. Some such large *Budye* communities become so strong as to dominate a large region by their influence, though they are by no means regarded as a headquarters for that region. The best dancers travel from one community to another, and frequently there is a great rally, attended by three or four groups of *Bambudye* from the neighbouring chieftainships.

As the members travel, they initiate fresh members, either voluntary or conscripted, and thus start new *Bumbudye* communities.

It is certain that this society has exercised a very powerful force for generations in Lubaland. In fact one may say that chiefs, necromancers and *bambudye* shared between them the entire domination of the Luban empire, until the coming of the white man.

It is said that the *Bambudye* was brought here from the hills to the East of Kayumba, on the Lufira River. The fact that the *Budye* greeting is by clapping hands strengthens this statement, for while they clap hands in greeting on the Lufira River, such greeting is not used West of the Hemba country. A certain *Ngoi ya Nkongolo* is said to have brought the *Bumbudye* to Lubaland, but as the same man is said to have originated the *Butwa* society, in the same place, (and this society is unknown in Lubaland) it is difficult to place great weight on the statement. It is true that the *Butwa* paid occasional visits to Central Lubaland over a generation back, but they never gained a footing there.

Another history is to the effect that Nkongolo, the originator of the Luban Empire, shut up several men in a hut for two months, and declared that if they defiled their hut in any way, they would pay for such an insult with their lives. They hit upon a plan whereby they could avoid defiling their hut. They promised their guard that if he would dispose of their

excrements, etc., they would pay his kindness with a female slave. Thus each day he brought them food, and each evening he came to carry away the water-pot and basket. The captives had however used these utensils in the meanwhile, and thus at the end of the two months Nkongolo found the hut as neat and clean as when he had put them into it. Hence he allowed them to form the "society of the secret closet" and even to-day it is one of the most rigid laws of the *Bumbudye* that they must not pass water, etc., excepting in the place provided within the *kinyengele*; and after the session, when this *kinyengele* is destroyed, the "*kichibu*" is filled and covered with ashes, to make it look like an ordinary ash-heap. Thus the ordinary mortal believes that the *Shabudye* has the power to defer the normal functions while the session is in progress. Moreover since it was under cover of darkness that the removal originally took place, even to-day it is considered a serious crime, punishable by a heavy fine, to call the attention of a *Shabudye* to the moon.

The head man, or president of each community is called the *Kikungulu*, though to the uninitiated he is known as the *Tshikala*. It is he who regulates the affairs of the society, decides on dances, tries crimes, and gives out the offices of honour.

The *Musenge* is second in command. He is a kind of foreman who appoints the work of the members.

The *Ndalamba* follows the *Musenge* in importance. He has no clearly defined work, beyond smoothing out the arrangements of the community, under the *Kikungulu*.

In some *Budye* communities there are three men entitled *Musenge*. In this case *Bwana Musenge* takes the place of the *Ndalamba*, the *Musenge Mukulu* replaces the *Bwana Mukamba*, and the *Kana ka Musenge* is a kind of assistant to these two. In view of the fact that the *Budye* sect is in power over a country more than four hundred miles in length, it is not to be wondered at that there should be slight differences in the organisation locally.

The office of *Tusulo* is often higher than that of *Musenge*. He is the official receiver, and to him all gifts for the society as a whole are brought. In some cases his rank of dignity follows that of *Musenge*, and he is regarded as one step inferior.

The *Lwaba* is the steward of the *Tusulo*, his duty being to dispense all the foods and gifts.

All these offices are occasionally held by women, but nearly always

by men. The *Lwaba*, however, is accompanied by the *Mfum'wa Seya*, who is always a woman, and it is her duty to preside over the ladling out out of the beer. Both *Lwaba* and *Mfum'wa Seya* are recogniseable by a tuft of feathers worn on the side of the head.

The *Mfum'wa Bana* is next in importance, his work being to act in the capacity of a parent to the younger members.

*Bwana Mukamba wa Kilo* is charged with the building of the “*kinyengele*” or lodge-house, at the instructions of the *Kikungulu*. He calls in the necessary *Bumbudye* to help in the work, and all the members pay him a gift for his labour. His office is confined to building operations. With him work the *Kaloba* and *Mashinda*. The former is in charge of the ground about the *kinyengele*. He calls this ground his body, and regards any defilement of it as a personal insult to himself. He picks up rubbish, clears the weeds, and takes charge of anything that has been left about. The duty of the *Mashinda* is to care for the one path leading to the *kinyengele*. He erects gateways, guards against the entrance of strangers, sits in the path to receive the gift of a few beads from each *Shabudye* who enters, and arranges along the path the “*masubu*,” or emblematic figures with which novices are initiated. The *Kibelo* is door-keeper of the *Kinyengele*, admitting members with the pass “*Kibelo nshitwile ntwele. Ntambo na nge wa sokondja.*”

The *Minkwanza* is the society's policeman, and as he dances there is arranged about his shoulders a rope with which to tie up offenders.—“*Nkwanza*” means rope in the *Budyé* secret language. Other minor dignitaries of the sect are *Kadibu* and *Kabembo*, *Kampingidi* and *Nkoswe*, *Kanzele-wa-Lutetabandji* and *Balunga-Nsendwe*.

In a class of special dignity, and entirely by himself is the *Kamandji* or Master-of-Ceremonies. Theoretically he follows the *Bwana-Mukamba* in order of precedence, but actually there are times when the *Kikungulu* alone is above him. It is at his signal that the dance commences, the song changes etc., He has various calls, which are identical from end to end of the land. e.g., at one call everybody is at ease and happy. At another call everybody remains rigid and silent until they discover whether one approaching is an initiate or a stranger. At another call, again, all file out to the village to dance.

All these “*bamfumu*” are regarded with profound respect by their inferiors in rank. The “*Kikungulu*” is supposed not to be appointed, but just to “*lupuka*” or bud-forth, come out. This fact gives him a kind of prestige almost as a super-human, among the other members of

the cult. Actually, however, when a number of fresh *Bambudye* have "drunk into the sect" in some new region, the chief of the place is the one who selects for the office of *Kikungulu* some personal friend, thus ensuring that the *Bambudye* will not be antagonistic to his personal interests. The *Kingukulu* then selects his officers very much as the British Prime Minister selects his members of the Cabinet.

One man is known as a "mukabo." He makes himself responsible for all deaths of *Bambudye* members, and declares that these can only be atoned for by a dance and beer-drink. Thus it is he who agitates, calls together the members, and otherwise stirs up the community to a commemorative dance for any *Shabudye* recently dead. On hearing of the death of a *Shabudye*, the *mukabo* smears himself with chalk, collects cloth and beads for the burial, from other members, and constantly repeats the phrase "*Waju. Tujye amba wende nandoe.*" "He has died. Let us dance that he may go in peace."

#### THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BUMBUDYE.

Some join the *Bumbudye* voluntarily, but others are made to do so by force. If a person is active and intelligent, or has a good hut and garden, and specially if a woman is attractive, the *Bambudye* make special efforts to induce such an one to become a member. If kind overtures are unsuccessful, the person is forced to enter the sect by imprisonment and torture. At Kisanga, Kalume, and Lubanda we have found evidences of cruel tortures inflicted to make people join the *Bumbudye*.

The presiding spirit of the *Bumbudye* is said to be "*Lolo Inanombe*" sometimes abbreviated to "*Lolo Nombe*" or just "*Nombe*." Tradition says that she was a woman married to a buffalo, while another version is that she was the offspring of the union between a woman and a buffalo. We have seen one rudely chalked representation of her on the wall of a *Budye* hut, with an animal's body and a woman's head and bosom. For the practical purposes of the society however, she is represented by a land tortoise, "*Kichidi*." Thus to know whether a person is well inclined to the *Bumbudye*, a tortoise is put into his hut. If he feeds and shows it kindness, this is regarded as a gesture of friendliness to the society, while if it is killed or turned out, this is taken as evidence of enmity to the sect, to be punished either by a heavy fine or by forced entrance into the *Bumbudye*.

The *Initiation into Ordinary Membership* consists of two parts: "*Ku subila*" and "*Ku subula*," just as in the case of mourning for the dead, circumcision, *butanda* ceremony, etc. *Ku Subila*. Any member

of the sect can initiate another, though it is one of the duties of the *Tusulo* to help in this initiation, and he wears a special “*lukuka*” of beads on his chest on these occasions.

The novice, who is known to the world as a “*ngulungu*” or uninitiated, but to the *Bambudye* themselves as a “*manseta*,” brings an initial fee of a cock, a hen, two rows of small beads and two rows of large. Before the advent of the white man and his beads, little copper crosses were used in these fees. When the *Kikungulu* or *Musenge* receives the fee, he orders a fire to be lit at the entrance to the road leading to the “*kinyengelle*,” and the novice is told “*i mufitwe kya ku fitwila*”: “it is the blackened one for whom to be blackened. If you approach that fire, you will be guilty of a crime.” He is then blind-folded, and led successively into specially arranged spring-trap, noose trap, log trap, and pit trap in turn. He is seized by two men, of whom the former pretends to be a leopard and the latter a lion. Next the blind-folded novice is led into a pool of water (called a lake). They then take a knife and make a slight incision on his breast, just large enough to make the blood come, and uncovering his eyes they show him the liver freshly taken bleeding from a fowl, and say “This is your *ngulungu* liver, (in Lubaland the physiological notion of “heart” is the liver), and now you have a *shabudye* liver.” They smear beside his eyes with white ash. In the earlier stages of initiation ash is used for smearing, and it is only after the novice is well introduced that he is permitted to use chalk.

The initiate is now taken to a little wooden figure, draped in cloth, and called “*Kipukapuka*.” (A similar figure with exactly the same name is employed in the “*Bwanga bwa ntoshi*” secret society initiation among the *Bekalebwe*), and is told to greet it. Of course there is no reply. Then the *Bumbudye* say “*Kipukapuka* is in a bad temper. Strike him.” The initiate strikes it and hurts his knuckles, but still there is no reply. “Strike it harder,” they all cry, but as he strikes at it, there is a string so arranged underneath that on pulling it, the figure ducks, and he strikes empty air. “Ah, he agrees,” they say. “Now you may dance till *Lolo Inanombe* calls you.”

After the novice has danced for a while they say “*Lolo* is calling you. She is in this hole in the ground. Put in your hand and receive all that she offers you.”

The hole is really a covered-in pit, connected by an underground passage with a hut nearby, and there is a man in the pit. The novice puts in his hand and pulls out a handful of white beads. They say “White beads are for good fortune. Now try again.” He puts in his

hand again, and this time the man beneath seizes it in his teeth, while all the members looking on call out " *Lolo Inañombe* has got you. Confess all the wrongs you have committed. If you omit anything *Lolo* will know, and will kill you."

The initiate makes a full breast of all the more serious misdemeanours of his life, in the presence of the entire society, and under fear of death. If he omits anything known to any member, he will not escape lightly, and it is this confession which makes it hard to recant and resign from the *Bumbudye*, for the members know all the worst passages in the lives of their fellow-members. Having confessed, he is next told " Say what you will pay to be set free." " Ten francs." " It is not enough." " Twenty francs." " That is not nearly enough." " Then fifty francs." At once his finger is freed, and he is told " You must tell nobody of the secrets of the *Kinyengele*, or we will tie you up and expose you to the sun for a day. Also if anyone ask you about our secrets, that is a crime against us, and we will either make them join us or pay a heavy fine."

During the confession, the *shabudye* instructor and his initiate each has a piece of manioc leaf in his mouth, and they now spit out these pieces, while the members gather round and congratulate the newcomer on having become a " *Mbudyé Mwana*." He is now allowed to whiten his nose with white ash.

In case the initiate is a child, the instructor sits with his knee up, while the child has to crawl under the knee without touching it. This is repeated, and on the second occasion the youngster's head is bumped on the ground. He then stands and bumps foreheads with his instructor, and must give no evidence of pain, after which he is told " You will make a good *Mbudyé*."

#### THE CEREMONY OF " KUSUBULA."

This ceremony may follow two or three days after the first ceremony, if the initiate is quick enough at learning the necessary formulae, and shows himself ready to pay the necessary fees in beads. It is accompanied by a beer-drink at the initiate's expense. The ceremony consists in conducting the initiate past various signs, known as " *masubu*," to which he must give names or titles. Sometimes these *masubu* objects are beautifully carved, and there are a few sets of really rare ones, shiny with age and valuable works of art, but the societies would not part with them at any price whatever. Other sets are rudely carved in light wood for altogether there are about 80 of them, and they would be very difficult to carry, if carved in the heavier woods. Nowadays some are merely

crudely fashioned in green banana stalk and grass, and we have seen one "Kinyengele" where they were painted in coloured clays, on the "kikalanundo" or clay throne of the *Kinyengele*.

The first sign is a twig across the path, which must be pointed out as the twig of the dead and the living.

The second is a shoot of "munzenze," which must be named "the tail of *Lolo Nombe*."

The third is the cross roads, where the women go to the left and the men to the right, and each must follow the proper path in silence.

The fourth is a rope across the road, called a "lukuka." The initiate must first touch it on his chest, then on his head after which he treads it under feet, and finally lifts it up and walks under it.

At the fifth sign, the path widens and he is confronted by two little wooden figures which are said to be parents-in-law who died in the act of adultery.

The sixth sign is tiny bits of stick or grass chopped short, which must be named black army ants.

The seventh sign is two mounds of earth, which are said to be the garden which *Lolo Nombe* cultivated at Kanyamba.

The eighth sign is a small hole said to be an ant-bear's cave with the ant-bear inside.

The ninth sign is two sticks twisted, said to be the two snakes in the act of "benyengele."

The tenth sign is four men standing about a hole with a stick lying beside it. The initiate must pick it up and strike into the hole, calling it *Lolo Nombe*'s pestle and mortar. A small *nkishi* in the tree above is then supposed to call "You are pounding flour, run for your life. The enemy is coming." Upon this the initiate runs a few paces, as though in flight from an enemy. In some *binyengele* this small *nkishi* or carved figure is a separate sign : the eleventh.

The twelfth sign is a grey monkey skin in a tree. They call "Abe u ioma bumbudye, sokola nsoko." "You who are entering the *Mbudye* sect, point out the grey monkey," at which he must point into the tree.

The thirteenth sign is a row of "bankishi"—human figures, round the base of a tree, and pieces of cloth tied in a circle, said to be "the capital of the chief."

The fourteenth sign is a circle of beads and a round ball of earth in the centre, said to be the “*bilashye*”—the vomitings of a suckled child—of *Lolo Nombe* and of *Mwadi Kitala kya Nsumba*.

The initiate now finds two strings hanging over the path along which he has been conducted. A feather headdress and a dancing axe are tied to the upper one. He must put on the headdress and waving the axe rush out into the *mbudye* dance till he perspires freely, when he sits down and is washed all over in a brew of leaves, and told “*Wa subuka.*” You have become a fully fledged *Mbudye*.

Throughout these ceremonies appropriate songs are sung.

#### MBUDYE CONDUCT.

There are several stages and degrees higher than that of the ordinary *Mbudye*, and each with its special signs of recognition and rules of conduct, but certain signs and deportment are recognised throughout. Anyone not knowing the signs, or failing to confirm to the conduct, is recognised at once as an intruder, and will do well to escape with his life.

The first sign is a little crook of grass, held up before the newcomer. He must name it “*Kalobola ka lobo.*” The second is a piece of grass bent into four angles, and must be named “*Bukongolo bwa bukongo.*”

The third is a twig broken in the middle, called “*kachimalunga.*”

One cannot avoid the idea that all these various signs, so rigorously exact throughout the whole of Lubaland were originally intended to perpetuate some symbolic teaching, or history, but to-day we have been unable to find any trace of connected reason for them. They are nothing more than a pass into the sect. We have searched and enquired in vain for any clue as to their *raison d'être*.

If a stranger enter the *kinyengele*, he is invited to sit on a mat. Any-one doing so is at once discovered as an intruder, for a *Shabudye*, versed in *Mbudye* manners, turns up the corner of the mat, and sits on the ground beneath it. Also if offered beer or food, a real *Mbudye* leaves a little “*kushinga milandu.*” If a person finishes all the beer or food, he is seized and punished as an impostor. The *Kinyengele* hut must always be entered by the Eastern door, and left by the Western.

It is forbidden for a *Mbudye* to commit adultery with one who is not a member of the sect, though within the sect promiscuity is practised. It is not often that a man will sleep with his mother or sisters, though

even this is not unknown in the *kinyengele*. Some members sleep with their wives, but as a rule it is the *Kikungulu* or the *Lwaba* who apportions the women to the various men, and a man who wants a particular woman for the night applies to these officials. Outsiders are told that there are two parts to the *Kinyengele*, one for the men (*njibo ya kapongo*), and the other for the women (*njibo ya nyembo*), but this is untrue. It is a simple blind, to cover the foul promiscuity carried on in the *kinyengele*. We have examined a number of *binyengele*, sometimes at the risk of our lives, and in no single one was there such a division. The partitions between the cubicles are of the flimsiest nature, so that anyone can see or reach through. Each cubicle is of a size for two, and scores of converts from the *Bambudye* to Christianity corroborate my statement that the camouflage about two separate departments, the men's and the women's, is absolutely untrue. The *Kikungulu* is allowed two women, and each other member a woman apiece. Moreover if some outsider prepare a beer-drink for the *Bambudye*, he is invited in, to participate in this.

One of the first instructions given to the initiate is "If you contract venereal disease, you must on no account allow it to be thought that it was caught in the *Kinyengele*."

The *Bambudye* show an extreme respect for the *Kichidi* or land tortoise, calling it their mother, an emblem of *Lolo Nombe*. This tortoise is a delicacy, but if they see anyone taking one to kill and eat, they will redeem it and let it go, even at the cost of a considerable sum.

No *Mbudye* may drink beer with one of a higher or lower order than his own. Those who have "mounted the platform" may not share with those who are mere "*bamasubu*." These may not share with those who have only completed the first ceremony of "*kusubila*" and so on. Moreover each demands rigid respect from those of the lower orders. Those who have not yet been able to "*subula*" just stand and smear their chests with earth in the usual Luban greeting. Ordinary members kneel and clap hands in greeting, while the "*Bamfumu*" of office-bearers sit while greeting each other by clapping hands.

A woman member, who refuses the embraces of one of the men to whom she has been relegated by the *Kikungulu* is punished by being tied out in the sun all day, and if she continues obstinate, she has to undergo the "*mulongo*" torture. There are some *binyengele* also, where she is forced to undergo a horrible indignity with a billy-goat. The *mulongo* mat-torture is one of the most popular weapons of *Bumbudye*. The one to be tortured is rolled and tied in a stiff mat of palm mid-ribs, in such a way that he (or she) cannot move hand or foot. Two members lift him

a few inches from the ground and then let him go so that he drops to the earth with a jar. He is then asked "will you submit, (or join, pay, or whatever may be desired.)" If he refuses, he is lifted somewhat higher and dropped again. After each refusal the drop is increased. Those who have undergone the torture say that the shaking of the system even after a drop of a few inches is terrible, as there is nothing whatever to break the fall. One who is obdurate in his refusal eventually is dropped from such a height that he is stunned. Not infrequently people are maimed for life, yet they dare not say where they received their injuries. Several cases have been brought to our notice where the victim was killed outright, but to try to obtain witness or bring the perpetrators of this murder to book would be a hopeless task, for the fear of the *Bumbudye* is so great that nobody would dare to give evidence. The secrets of the *Kinyengele* are securely guarded.

We have known children tortured into submission by being tied in a mat in the roof of a hut, over a smoky fire, and also by being tied to trees in the forests, with hot cinders placed against, or in between the toes. Also where families have refused to give certain members to the society they have been told "*Bumbudye* does not forgive. You will all die." Within a few weeks the whole family has died, presumably poisoned.

In order that their conversations may not be understood, the *Bambudye* use a language of their own, though in the grammatical construction and in the main elements it is simply distorted *Kiluba*. So far as we have been able to discover it does not consist of more than 200 words, chiefly nouns and verbs, though it may be that the ordinary member only imperfectly learns the fragments of a language, which is actually far richer than appears. If one could find some other part of Central Africa where such words are known, it might throw some interesting light on the origin of the society. The following are a few of the commoner words :—

Ground nuts . . . . .	<i>tuningele</i>
Fowl, chicken . . . . .	<i>poniponi</i>
Manioc mush . . . . .	<i>kantadi</i>
To come . . . . .	<i>kwima</i>
To go . . . . .	<i>kwendema</i>
Maize . . . . .	<i>manswebele</i>
Teeth . . . . .	<i>mayewe</i>
Europeans . . . . .	<i>baviundu</i>
Rat . . . . .	<i>nkuswe</i>
Woman . . . . .	<i>kiseba</i>

Beer .....	<i>makwakwa</i>
Fire .....	<i>nambia</i>
Uninitiated .....	<i>manseta</i> or <i>manseba</i>
To sleep .....	<i>kumonga</i>
Flesh .....	<i>musana</i>
Water .....	<i>kwave</i>

The *Bambudye* chants and songs however are in pure *Kiluba*, since these are for the public. It is only among themselves, and in the lodge that they use their own secret language.

#### THE HIGHER ORDERS OF THE SOCIETY BUMBUDYE.

Even though a man is a fully fledged member, he is not supposed to be possessed by a spirit. In the higher grades however they believe that they are possessed by a *vidye*, and the actual practising necromancers or *Bavidye* declare that once in the long past, *Bambudye* and *Bavidye* were one. They say that all *Bavidye* danced by way of advertising their presence, and that gradually those who gave themselves more seriously to the spirit consultation split off into individual practice, while the *Bambudye* developed the communal life.

The first stage of possession is called “*kukanda lukala*,” to climb the platform, and those who achieve this are called “*bakilengo*.” An initial fee of a row of beads must be paid to the “*Kamanji*” and the “*Kibelo*,” who undertake the initiation.

The *Kikungulu* sits on his earth throne in the “*kinyengele*” and calls upon the one who would “mount the platform” to enter. Just inside the door are two men kneeling, one on each side, and the one to be initiated must place a hand on the head of each as he enters. If he were to fail to do so, he would be recognised as an impostor and have to pay a fine. The *Kikungulu* invites him to approach, but there is a monkey skin across the space between. This he must lift up by the tail and replace it again after having passed. If the *Kinyengele* is one of those ramshackle places used by the modern *Bambudye*, the initiate is taken to a mud-walled hut. The older *binyengele* however are mud walled and serve the purpose. The initiate is stood before the wall, and rough maps are chalked on the wall. The whole country from the Lualaba to the Sankuru is marked, with the chief lakes and rivers, the noted abodes of spirits, and the capitals of the various chiefs. The initiate is questioned as to where each chief resides, and where each river flows, the names of the tutelary spirits of each locality, etc. In many cases the initiators are inefficient, and the whole thing becomes more or less a farce, with no-

thing more than a mere naming of a few of the local chieftainships, but we have seen one wall, soon after the initiation, in which although the actual scale was far from correct, yet the general lay-out of the country was intelligently executed. We have heard travellers say that the African knows no other scale than that of 1760 yards to the mile, and certainly this geography lesson seems unlike the general haphazard way of the *Baluba*, but this certainly exists over a region as far stretched out as from Pyamimbayo to Kabondo Dianda. When he has named the principal features enumerated above, he is shown a row of vertical stripes and has to say "It is a zebra"—roseate dots, "it is a leopard," and other signs indicating animals. He is then smeared with whitewash to the lower part of the ribs, and made to lie down on the floor. The door of the hut, (generally of *malenge* reeds or split *Muvumazengelenge* poles) is covered with palm mid-ribs. The *Tusulo* takes the pestle used in pounding, and asks "Who is the spirit who is now entering you? Is it *Shimbi*?" The initiate commences to tremble and the *Tusulo* strikes the ground, and takes a blow at the door, his blow being stopped by the mid-ribs. "Is it *Kibawa*?" and another blow with the pestle. "Is it *Monga*?" Until eventually the pestle breaks through the mid-ribs, and comes against the door with a thud, upon which the initiate leaps up, believing that the "*vidye*" last named has taken possession of him. A dancing axe is put into his hands, and he bursts forth among the outsiders dancing and prophesying. Henceforth that particular *vidye* who is supposed to have taken possession of him gives his name to the initiate. Supposing *Nkulu* was the name last mentioned, and supposing therefore the man who was being initiated is believed to have become possessed of *Nkulu*, they say that "*Nkulu* has mounted the platform," and all the society, when in session, know this man thenceforward as *Nkulu*. It is only those supposedly thus possessed who are allowed to wear the "*nkaka*" or diamond-decorated bead crown.

There are other higher orders of *Bumbudye*. The next highest is the "*Musau*," who is said to have "arrived at the '*kitenta*' or spirit-capital, of *Kumwimba Nombé*." The one who is initiated into this degree is permitted to smear half way down his stomach with chalk. It is not every *Kinyengèle* that has the complete array of office bearers. Sometimes a subordinate has to act for a service.

Above this is the "*Bukungulu*," from which the ringleaders of each society are drawn. Hence their name "*Bakikungulu*." Only these are allowed to smear their whole body with chalk. The initiation for the *Bukungulu* consists in a "*Kobo ka malwa*" ceremony almost exactly like that of a chief.

There are many little intimacies and minor signs of recognition among the members of each degree. For instance when it is desired to test anyone as to whether he has actually reached the *Bukungulu*, they ask him to "show the stoat." He goes to the bed of the nearest notable of the sect, and lifts him from it, when, under the place where this notable is reclining, there is the skin of a "*kawundji*" or stoat. Thus among those who have reached this degree, instead of saying "a member of those who have reached the *Bukungulu*," they simply say: "a stoat"—*Kawundji*.

#### THE CLUB HOUSE OR KINYENGELE.

Usually the *Bambudye* only remain for a few days in session, during a public exhibition of dancing. This dancing may be in honour of a member who has died, in reverence for the new-moon, or simply an entertainment dance. In the South of Lubaland however, occasionally there are those who live almost permanently in the *Kinyengele*, bringing their belongings there, and cultivating their plantations about it. In the latter case they live as parasites upon the whole population demanding whatever they wish, fining and torturing those who dare to thwart their wills, and bringing the whole society into action to revenge any slight, either real or fancied. If they take a liking to any special woman of the village, they demand her, and if the husband dares to raise a voice of protest they simply pay him back the "dot" which he originally gave for marriage, and take the woman for themselves. Of course this is rarely done without the woman's connivance, but during the sensual displays of dancing, where every sexual action and gesture is exploited to the full, the onlookers become so infatuated with the dancers that they simply say "I want to marry a man who dances the *Bumbudye*," and leave finally, husband and home for the *kinyengele*.

In the dancing displays, the onlookers come provided with gifts for the practical appreciation of the best dancers. There is a basket in the centre of the dance-ground, performing much the same function as a Salvation Army drum, and called "*Kiala kwa tutwa malungo*," for the receiving of general gifts, and there is also the practise of rushing forward screaming, in the midst of the dance, to put gifts into the hands of some particular favourite. The wild excitement, the throbbing of the drums, and the rhythm of dance and song seem to infatuate many onlookers, so that they throw whatever they possess to the *Bumbudye*, and later they deeply regret it in their saner moments. Thus we have known the *Bambudye* to go off with blankets, beads, the hoe and axe which were being

used in the gardens, and even the money that had been saved up for the government tax.

#### BAKASANDJI.

There are two cannibal societies well established in Lubaland, with various similar offshoots from them. The larger societies are the *Bakasandji* and the *Tupoyo*. Both are strongest among the *Bene Bitumba*, and along the Lualaba between Nionga and Bukama. Both are also strong in the villages of the upper reaches of the Luvoi water-shed, while they are not unknown even as far as the Luwuwa River.

In the usual cannibal communities of the Luvidyo River watershed, only men partake of human flesh. They protect themselves against the spirits of the dead by " *bwanga bwa mpalu*," consisting of women's periods and " *tutembo* " roots, in a *nkishi* or horn, to " *palula* " or chase away into the forests the spirits of those whom they eat. The feasting takes place in out-of-the-way parts of the forests, and the bones are broken small, to be sold for " *bwanga*." All that remains to tell the tale is a " *muteko* " pot, turned upside down. The women hold their secret feasts of snake instead of human flesh.

In the *Tupoyo* and *Tusandji* societies however, both the men and the women partake of the human flesh, their theory being that sickness is caused by the dead person's spirit, and that by exhuming and destroying the body, they are able to chase the spirit away with their " *bwanga*," and to dissipate him, so that he will not be able to cause further sickness. Every member of these societies is a " *ñanga* " or doctor.

#### THE INITIATION OF A KASANDJI.

The profession of the *Bakasandji* is that they are all men who have been raised from the dead. They must therefore be reduced to a condition of unconsciousness, that those looking on may prod them, slap them and even stamp on them, and they will show every sign of insensibility. On coming back to consciousness they are told " You were dead, and now we have raised you."

The chief of the *Tusandji* is called the " *Bwana Mutombo*," and the rest address him as " *Tata* "—my father. He it is who prepares food for the members in session. Originally there was only one *Bwana Mutombo*, with headquarters at Kabengele, and from all over the country they had to go to him for initiation, but now they have a separate *Bwana*

*Mutombo* for every chieftainship or group of villages in which the society is strong.

The one who wishes for initiation has to go to the *Bwana Mutombo* with an initial fee. He is generally one who has grown up in intimacy with the sect, beating their drums, carrying their paraphernalia, etc., until regarded as old enough for admission. The *Bwana Mutombo* takes him into a hut and there instructs him. It helps him if he has fasted for a day or two beforehand, neither eating nor drinking, as this makes unconsciousness come more easily. After answering the questions of the *Bwana Mutombo*, and thus showing that he has learnt his part, he is washed all over with "*Bwanga*" and given a brew of warm liquid made from about six dried fruits from the "*lupajipaji*" plant, which is specially cultivated in some of the *Lualaba* villages for that purpose. The drinking of a brew from this fruit is to produce giddiness, trembling, foaming at the mouth and a condition akin to mental deficiency. A horn called a "*nzundji*" is tied to his arm-pit and another similar one to a winnowing basket with a ring in it. He must hold the basket above his head, looking up through the basket at the ring inside and in this position he must dance round and round the space provided, whirling and twisting, with a view to producing unconsciousness. If he stumble over anything, he must get up and go on immediately, without any show of pain. Sometimes it takes two or three days for a strong man to fall unconscious. Other members of the society take it in turns to dance with him, two or three at a time, in relays, urging him on, and inciting him to more violent contortions. In this, as in most of the superstitious ceremonies, a gift will smooth the path, and at *Kabondo Dianda* we have heard of men paying big sums to "die easily." This is accomplished by putting a stick, containing "*bwanga*" across the path of the initiate, soon after he has commenced to dance, or even when he first rushed out of the hut where he was instructed. He falls over the stick and lies quite still, when he is given a slap and pronounced dead. (It is interesting to note that the introduction to the secret sect "*bukavu*," among the Wabembi on the West side of Tanganyika, is exactly the same). About sunset the initiate is "brought to life." He is given a piece of smoked human meat to eat, and a human lower jaw is put between his teeth. Also at a certain point in the proceedings a human shull is put into his hands, and henceforward he sleeps with this skull at the head of his bed. It is generally, if not always the skull of his father, mother, elder brother, or some such close relative, and henceforth it is regarded as his particular "*mukishi*," to guard him from danger and to help in his compounding of charms.

After this he is allowed to smear whitewash round his eyes, and to wear the "nkaka." He is told "Kalala Ilunga, (Banze or some other of the tribal spirits), has entered you, and you are a 'ñanga.'" Many of those who in public life are regarded as the intelligent and progressive among the Natives are in secret members of the *Tusandji*.

In the initiation ceremony the novice also has to drink a potion containing the powdered forehead bones of a near relative.

#### THE METHODS OF THE BAKASANDJI.

If a man is sick he calls a *kasandji* doctor. Often it is merely a matter of nightmare, when the sufferer thinks that some unknown person wishes to kill him with evil dreams. In this case the *Kasandji* doctor erects a bush-buck horn, "*paka-ed*," with human bones, in a "*dikoko*," a small ant hill, in the sufferer's home. If it is a more serious sickness, then they call the whole society together, and each makes a small charm. The collection of charms is then put into a "*kimpindu*," consisting of the horns of a buffalo and of a *sichitunga* tied together. Those two horns are set up outside the sufferer's hut. In the "*kipau*" or medicine basket of the *Kasandji*, most of the "*bijimba*" or charm ingredients are made of human bone. They also carry the dome of a human skull as a drinking cup. It is the same skull from which powdered particles were drunk at the initiatory ceremony. Thus the double-horned "*kimpindu*" is chiefly filled with human bones from various parts of the body, and variously prepared. The sick one has to lick this *kimpindu* at frequent intervals, to make him proof against evil spells and dreams.

Sometimes a spirit is said to be attacking the sick one and yet hiding his identity. In this case they "*paka*" a duiker horn in a "*kishi*," to guard the sick one, and each day he must smear the *nkishi* with oil, and put it out in the sun, saying "*Bafu bafwe. Ke bangipaye.*" "May the spirits of the dead die. May they not kill me."

If the sick one is feeble, and lacks daily strength, they make a big "*nkishi*," and three of the sick man's female relatives are called to lift it, and to follow where it pulls, while the *Kasandji* doctor asks "Where do you want to stand?" As they imagine that they feel a pull in a certain direction, so they follow, until it comes to ground, thereby indicating that this is the spot where it wishes to rest. The *nkishi* is surrounded by stones, and each day the sufferer must add another stone to the *nkishi*, at the same time asking it to make him as strong as a stone.

Often a "*vidye*," a consulting necromancer, professes to be able to disclose the identity of the spirit of the dead, who is afflicting the living.

At other times the *Bakasandji* themselves divine it. They then clear a patch about the grave, and commence to dance, while thousands come with presents, claiming the society's members as saviours from calamity and disease. After much dancing the corpse is dug up. If only buried a month or so, the corpse is regarded as "sweet meat," so it is cut into strips, smoked and dried, to be eaten a little at a time. If more than a month old, the meat is cooked and eaten with bananas, while if it is in an advanced condition of decomposition, they only eat small portions of it, cooked with wart-hog meat, and burning the remainder, throw the ashes into the Lualaba.

If any new member shows fear during the uncovering of the corpse they seized him and rub him all over with the most decomposed portion, generally the entrails, holding him down with his face to the ground during the operations. Also the relatives of the dead are forced to eat a little, that they may be incriminated with the rest, lest they should give the authorities evidence. The skull is then smeared with oil, and placed on a mat, where the society dances about it, brandishing the arm and leg bones. Sometimes in the neighbourhood of Kabulunga, the parts of the flesh which are too decayed to be eaten are put on to the mat, with the skull, while a fire is lit beside it, and during the dance, the *Bakasandji* work themselves into a wild efflatus, during which they dash forward at intervals, and seizing scraps of decayed flesh, throw it into the flames, amid roars of applause from the spectators. All this is regarded as putting an effectual end to the evil powers of the dead man.

The names "*Tusandji*" and "*Bakasandji*" are interchangeable, while one occasionally hears also "*Batusandji*."

Pea-nuts are the only taboo of the sect. They say that these are for "*bwanga bwa nkinda*" or "*kiswenene*," women's charms. They have great respect for their "*Bwana Mutombo*," and set aside for him a proportion of all bones dug up. They have special dances, and special "*bielekejyo*" for their members, when the latter die, but these dead members are often exhumed and eaten nevertheless.

Many people pay frequent and considerable sums during their lives, to the *Bakasandji*, that their remains may be left undisturbed in the grave after death. These sums are no safeguard, however, as we have heard of cases where some excuse was trumped up, and the corpse was exhumed in consequence, notwithstanding the sums that had been paid. The *Bayembe* and *Bene Nkole*, of the Lujima Watershed, are offshoots of the *Bakasandji*, while near Kabongo, at Muleya, there is another small

sect, known as the " *Kitwimina* " with the same general characteristics : probably also an offshoot.

### TUPOYO.

The *Tupoyo* society is so similar to that of the *Bakasandji* that much of what was written of the one applies equally to the other, and it will suffice to enumerate those points where there is a difference. They flourish in the same areas, so that there is a constant clashing and antagonism between the two, but both are so strongly against the *Bambudye* that they drive it out wherever they come into contact with it.

Whereas any hut serves as a meeting for the *Tusandji*, and they have no special lodge, the *Tupoyo* have a secret lodge called the " *Kaumbangwa*," in every village where they have members. Their chief is called the " *kikungulu*." Unlike the *Bambudye*, however, the *Tupoyo* only have one *Kikungulu*, the present man being Mutoka, at Kabulunga. Mutoka has " *banfumu* " or office-bearers in many villages, and each is in charge of a " *kaumbangwa* " where he initiates new members.

### THE TOPOYO INITIATION.

The initiation takes the form of a mock murder and resurrection. After instruction the novice has to stand with chest exposed, and he is told " We have two arrows. If you do not fall and feign death with the first, we will shoot the second which has power to cause those at whom it is aimed to go mad, and to rush off into the forests, to eat grass and leaves, living like an animal." Of course he drops at the first shot. The diminutive poison bow, and two arrows used in the initiation are called the " *mulendo*," and the initiate has to pay an initial fee of two francs for the " *mulendo* " ceremony. They kick him, and bang him about, to show the public that he is dead. He dare not give any sign of life for fear of the second *mulendo* arrow. As a rule he indicates beforehand the name of the spirit whom he wishes to take possession of him in the new life. The initiator now takes a long wooden pounding stick, and asks " Who is taking possession of him ? Is it *Ilunga* ? " No reply is given. " Is it *Kibawa* ? " Again there is no reply, and this continues until the selected name is called, each fresh question being accompanied by a blow of the pounding stick on the ground at the initiate's head. As soon as the correct name is given, the initiate leaps up, believing that he is " in." The small initial fee however is only a bait to get a large membership, for now, before he can enter the " *kaumbangwa*," he must " fill the hands " of the members by paying five gourds of oil, five fowls, fifty francs, five

mats and a big bag of maize or manioc flour (containing five *bilala*-baskets), five in each case indicating a "full hand" for the members.

Sexual excess and promiscuity are forbidden in both the *Tupoyo* and *Tusandji* societies, quite contrary to the *Bambudye*.

The presiding spirits of the society are a supposed man named *Kimongote*, and woman, *Masombo*, together with a lion called "*Ntambo a Tupoyo*." All three are imitated in clay in the *Kaumbangwa*, and must be named by anyone who is challenged as he enters. The three figures are called "*kakibanga ka masubu*." As the *Bambudye* respect the land-tortoise, so the *Tupoyo* respect the *Mpumpa* and *Nkumbi*.

#### THE METHODS OF THE TUPOYO.

They profess to dig up and to eat corpses. Along the Lualaba they do not do so, but burn the meat to ashes, and scatter the black powder on the river, gnawing the bones to give the public the idea that they have eaten the meat off.

To protect themselves against the attack of spirits, they tie the heel bones of exhumed corpses around their ankles. These are called "*kikuya kya kinyanto*," and without one of these *Bikuya*, they would be afraid to exhume a corpse. They drive a profitable trade in human bones with the "*bañanga*" from farther North West, where the *Tupoyo* society itself does not exist, and a few years ago one would see the fires of these human hyenas almost every night, out on the Kisale plains, where they were at work digging out corpses.

In exhuming a corpse, they first uncover the head, and the "*mfumu*" or leader, at once drives a spear into the skull. All his "*bana-babwanga*," or followers then come round, and each grips the spear with one hand, at a given signal, all thrust down the spear at the same time, believing that they thus prevent the dead man from doing them bodily harm. Leaving the spear driven through the skull, or cheeks, they proceed to cut every portion of the body in half, reburying one half, and retaining the other. In the upper watershed of the Lovoi they still eat the flesh of the corpses which they dig up. It is chiefly cut into strips, smoked, and eaten in their own homes. This taste for human flesh, however, rapidly loses its ceremonial aspect, and becomes an unnatural craving, so that in villages about *Kashololo* it is not safe for anyone to travel alone and unarmed, for if two or three *Tupoyo* find a lonely man, they will call him aside into the forests, tie his hands, and proceed to put on their skins, chalk and feathers, after which they kill him with a spear, smoke and salt the flesh, and use the bones for medicine.

In order to keep prying eyes from the " *kaumbangwa* " they pierce two holes in the stone of the " *ntondo* " fruit, or in a piece of wood, and by twisting and untwisting a piece of string passed through these holes, they produce a rapid whirling motion, owing to the alternate torsion and slackening. This makes a roaring, or moaning noise which the outsiders believe to be the " lion of the *Tupoyo*," and hence they keep at a safe distance.

In the villages along the edge of the Lujima valley, also at Bunda, Kisanga and Ngoimani, we have come across traces of murder, committed by men who had placed imitation lion pads on their feet, and had killed their victim with a sharp instrument resembling claws. Only in the Lujima villages however was there any probability that the *Tupoyo* were at the bottom of it. Elsewhere it was the work of a fraternity of men who imitate, and call themselves " *bantambo* "—lions.

The *Tupoyo* specialize in medicine for gaining riches, (made of bones from a wealthy man) and in " *Tukishi twa ku kukuta*," made also of human bones, but " *paka-ed* " in a root that has tripped somebody up. This latter is licked, and in the case of adults it is supposed to strengthen them, while in the children it is said to make them grow tall and straight.

Also if the *Tupoyo* bear a grudge against anyone, they endeavour to get a piece of the cloth that he has worn, or the scrapings of wood from his bed, and placing this in a small gourd, pierced all over with holes, they hang the gourd on a string like a clothes-line, saying " This is death to So-and-so." They believe that pain and sickness will then enter into him, in parts of the body relative to the holes in the gourd, while if the string sways in the wind, so the sufferer is supposed to endure paroxysms of pain.

Both the *Tupoyo* and the *Tusandji* put on full regalia to exhume a corpse.

If anyone dares to desert their ranks, or to give away their secrets, they condemn him to death. Usually however they content themselves by kidnapping him, tying him to a forest tree, and forcing an arrow into his forearm, between the ulna and the radius, until it comes out on the opposite side, into the tree-bark.

#### NTAMBWE BWANGA.

Hitherto we have dealt exclusively with those societies which are purely Luban, and possibly of some considerable antiquity. This is so marked that while e.g. at Katombe, a Luban village, the *Bambudye* are

strong, yet only six miles away, across the Kingoi stream, which marks the boundary between Baluba and Basongi, is the village of Ngolo, where the *Bambudye* never come, and where the *Songi* societies of *Kiayo* and *Malenga* flourish instead. These societies are quite strange to the *Baluba*. In the same way, in the N. W. corner of Lubaland, immediately one steps across the Lumani, from the *Baluba* to the *Bekalebwe*, one leaves the *Bambudye*, and finds instead the “*Bukishi bwa mpemba*” and “*bukishi bwa lukulwa*.”

The society which I am about to describe, however, is entirely a modern growth, and it is intertribal. It has worked its way in a South Easterly direction, from Kabinda, or beyond, and it flourishes chiefly in centres where there are White traders, or their capitaos. We first met it at Bwana Tshofwe in 1923, and now all the mining, trading, and railway towns of the Katanga are honeycombed with it.

This *Ntambwe Bwanga* must not be confounded with the *Bantambo*, or lion-men, described under the heading “*Tupoyo*.” The latter are crude and brutal in the extreme, while the devotees of *Ntambwe Bwanga* are chiefly capitaos and responsible salesmen of the European. Moreover the *Ntambwe* medicine is popularly supposed to have originated in White-Man’s land.

Also, though in the main this society is one, yet it is only to be expected that in its rapid growth from tribe to tribe local peculiarities would appear. Thus the “*bwanga*” among the *Bekalebwe* is a stump of eland horn, while in Lubaland it is a sausage-shaped affair, wrapped in cloth for the early stages, and in lizard skin for the more advanced degree. Hence while endeavouring to give the general aspects of the society, yet we may be entrapped into giving, here and there some local peculiarity.

Briefly, *Ntambwe Bwanga* is an impersonation of the White man. The one who is “taken by it,” ceases to speak his own language, and uses only *Kiswahili*, aping the White Belgian in every detail. Every member takes a White man’s name, and on becoming possessed, he believes that he is a reimpersonation of that particular White man. Thus it is the boast of the society that among its members, the complete European population of the colony is duplicated and understudied, from “Le Roi Albert” and “Son Excellence le Gouverneur General” down through various grades of military, police and civil officials, to the poorest artisan.

The possessor of *Ntambwe Bwanga* is sought out by his neighbour for healing and averting calamity. The whole family is made to asso-

ciate, by paying the owner one franc each and by wearing the sign of four little sticks on the leg. The wife of the "*Mwine Ntambwe*" or possessor, is said to be taken by its spirit on occasions. She puts on a special dress and hat, chalking her face and feet, to look as much like a White woman as possible, and wearing brown fowl's feathers on or under her arms. The *Mwine Ntambwe* is then called "*Bwana So-and-so*," his white counterpart, while his wife is called "*Mandamo So-and-so*," correspondingly. *Mandamo* then calls shrilly, in Kiswahili, for fowls, eggs, bananas, and in fact anything which a White man in the village might be supposed to want. The Natives bring it at once, reverencing her by beating drums and blowing whistles. The gift is not so much regarded for her as for the "*bwanga*" which is worshipped more or less as a god. It is kept in a box, together with a tobacco pipe, a spear and a Kiswahili book, to be taken out every Sunday, as an object of special veneration. At this time special *Kiswahili* chants are sung to the "*bwabga*" for the recovery of any member who may be sick, and all the assembled members join in these chants, believing that the *bwanga* will keep away sorcery and death, and will kill their enemies.

The *bwanga* is provided with chair, table, plate, cutlery and all the outfit of the White man. The table is laid with meat, vegetables, nuts, etc., and those who are hungry among the "*Bene-Nkungwa*" as the members are called among themselves, may come forward and eat what he will, paying the owner of the *bwanga*.

If anyone is sick and wishes a cure at the hands of the *Tambwe bwana*, he goes to the owner, with a present of fowls. They bring out the *Bwanga* with a salvo of drums and whistles. *Mandamo* goes into a kind of ecstatic efflatus, screaming in Kiswahili "*Ntambwe* says bring this and that," mentioning whatever may be required for a charm. Still in this ecstacy, and with *Swahili* incantations, she tells the sick one how to prepare and use the charm. If he recovers, in the North he has to give the owner two guns, or a slave, while farther South the settlement is in money. Along the Lualaba *Mandamo* does not chalk her body during the proceedings.

#### DEGREES OF TAMBWE BWANGA.

The innermost degree of *Ntambwe Bwanga* is a most serious affair. It exists for theft, mutual protection, the delivery of its members from gaol, and for revenge. Before anyone can enter it, he must be approved after very rigid trial, and must first condemn one of his own relatives to be killed by the *Ntambwe* poison. None can enter who has not first

forfeited a relative. Thus the initiates have "burned their bridges behind them," and are bound by a very strong bond of secrecy. This select minority is known as "*Ntambwe ya Baleka*" or "*Ntambwe ya Baleko*." Then there is the more general society of "*Ntambwe ya Muzungu*." The novice has to come before the "Roi Albert" or before one of his superior officers, saying "Make me a *Ntambwe* or I die." The cost of making the medicine is anything up to 300 francs, and the possessor has to pay another 100 francs to become a member. This inferior degree is not for theft, but for dancing. The payment may seem exorbitant, but it is regarded as an extremely profitable investment, since everyone who takes part in the dance, or who partakes of the food, and all who are cured, must pay handsomely. The third degree, known as "*Ntambwe ya Katenga*," is a kind of shunt line for those not wanted in the *Ntambwe ya Muzungu*, and not trusted in the *Ntambwe ya Baleko*. The members of this *Katenga* degree are flattered into believing that they have been admitted into the most secret counsels of the society at once. They are given certain rites to perform, and are used as a tool for the *Baleko*, but actually they are, and they remain, outsiders. They pay heavily. They are allowed to circulate the supposed secrets of the society but actually they know very little about it.

So great is the desire among the White men's capitao, Native mine foremen, etc., to join the *Baleko* that they will do or give almost anything for the privilege, and we have known the superior officers to enrol ten new members in an hour. Thus the money which circulates among the chiefs of the society is enormous. "Roi Albert" travels from place to place, always in the employ of some White man, but so quick and so general are his movements that we have been tempted to believe there is more than one Native filling this role. The members meet him in state when he enters a village, bringing him everything he demands, and acting towards him in a most servile and respectful manner. Moreover he frightens the inferior members by saying that a snake follows him wherever he goes, and always a village behind him, to see, to hear, and to tell him all he wishes to know concerning disloyalty or the divulgence of secrets. This "Roi Albert" has boasted that, now that they have such powerful *bwanga*, and such effective poisons, the year of the White "*Bumbulamatadi*" is finished and the days of the Black man's *Bumbulamatadi* have arrived. The expression *Bumbulamatadi* is used of the Belgian rule over the Congo.

So great is the respect and dread in which the society is held that its members can threaten, intimidate, claim money, and almost demand what they want.

There seems little worth knowing concerning the *Katenga* degree. The *Muzungu* degree is chiefly occupied in dancing and making charms. Its chief danger lies in the fact that it is a recruiting ground for the *Baleko* degree. This last is so exceedingly secret that it is difficult to get to the bottom of its mysteries. This much however is plain. They have incantations and charms by which they profess to make a man sleep heavily while they steal his goods. Also they blow powdered *Kalaya* and *Mukusu* roots up the sleeper's nostrils, at the moment when he is inhaling, and thus he is said to be rendered powerless and insensible, waking later with a fearful headache, to find all his goods stolen. We have not been able to prove the efficacy of these roots, but is it certain that occasionally people have come to their senses long after the normal time, to find all their possessions stolen, even to the bed-clothes on which they are lying. There is a trembling ceremony, in which a member goes into a trance at the cross roads, and by his contortions they profess to decide whether it will be profitable and safe to burgle So-and-so's house, and whether he will awake or will remain sleeping. Also they perform the *Tambwe* dance on the day before a daring theft, though not necessarily in the same neighbourhood. After a theft they have sometimes left behind a long bamboo with a fish-hook on the end, which had evidently been used for stealing cloth by reaching through between the bars of a store. The members have come round our schools with basketsful of francs and notes, calling the evangelists and children who were at service to come away and join them, and saying "The White man's God cannot give you such riches as you will gain from our god *Ntambwe Bwanga*." They profess to have incantations and charms so powerful that no chief will have the power to condemn a member of the *Ntambwe Bwanga*, but also (very inconsistently it seems to us), at the same time they have other medicines for the releasing of those who are actually in gaol, and they believe that when they repeat incantations over these, the White men will be strongly influenced to set the prisoner free. One thing is certain. Whenever a member of the society has to pay a fine, or to restore stolen goods, the required sum is produced without hesitation, however large it may be, by the other members of the group.

The possessors of *Ntambwe Bwanga* have certain taboos, which vary slightly in different localities. The following seem to be the most general :—The name of a *Mwine Nkungwa*, or *Ntambwe* associate, must not be mentioned or called across the fire or across the water. The penalty for breach of this law is the forcing of the culprit to eat a mouthful of red pepper (ground Native chilles). It is also punishable for a *Mwine Nkungwa* to laugh in the presence of the sick. It is forbidden to eat

cock fowls, and above all white cocks. It is believed that to sprinkle water on a *Mwine Nkungwa* would cause his death.

Re the *Ntambwe* poison, we have experimented with the roots of the tree known to the Natives at large as "*ntambwe muchi*," but cannot discover that they are particularly poisonous. These roots are made into a brew, by the ordinary Native, that he may soak his seed in them before sowing, as it makes them so bitter that birds will not eat them.

# STRING FIGURES FROM BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

By CAMILLA H. WEDGWOOD AND I. SCHAPERA

Since the study of string figures or, as they are more popularly termed, "cat's cradles," has been taken up by ethnographers, much has been written of them from many parts of the world. It happens, however, that in Africa most of the information concerning them has been obtained from the western and central regions, while very little has been reported of this pastime from any tribes south of the Limpopo River. Writing in 1906, Dr. A. C. Haddon states : "Although I tried numerous Natives of the British Colonies south of Rhodesia, I could not find one who could do anything with a bit of string. It would be rash to conclude that string figures do not occur among these tribes, but I think they must be rare, especially in the case of the Zulu peoples. I append, however, one Zulu example, and there is evidence that others are known."<sup>1</sup> Dudley Kidd also reports that string figures are made among the Zulu and in Basutoland,<sup>2</sup> and Junod in his book on the BaThonga records that girls sometimes amuse themselves in this way. The game among them is called *ku tha buhlolo*. He writes of it : "They take a string tied at both ends so as to form a large ring, and make all kinds of complicated figure by twisting it with their fingers and even with their lips . . . Girls compete together and try to surpass each other in inventing new figures. They teach each other this *buhlolo*."<sup>3</sup> This is all that has been reported of string figures from this part of South Africa.

Because of this dearth of knowledge concerning the making of cat's cradles among the Southern Bantu, it has seemed good to publish a few simple figures and tricks collected by us during a brief visit to the Kxatla town of Mochudi.<sup>4</sup> As will be seen, most of them resemble figures found in other parts of Africa, but one, known alternatively as "The Bed" or "Oxen inspanned," does not appear to have been recorded from any

<sup>1</sup>A. C. Haddon, "String Figures from South Africa," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxvi (1906), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. I, pp. 174-5.

<sup>4</sup>For one of us (I.S.) this was the third of a series of field-work trips to the tribe, carried out with the aid of a research grant from the School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town.

other region, though it resembles very nearly an unnamed figure described by Cunnington from the south end of Lake Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup>

The BaKxatla of Bechuanaland Protectorate arrived there some sixty years ago, having left the Western Transvaal, their former home, as the result of conflict with the local European authorities. After some fighting with the resident BaKwena they established themselves in their new home, the capital of the tribe being built at Mochudi, a town now containing some eight to ten thousand inhabitants. At the time of our visit, in September 1930, most of the inhabitants were actually living in the town. The harvest was over ; the new ploughing season had not yet begun, and for this reason few, if any, were away at the cultivated lands, the only absentees being the lads of from fourteen to eighteen years of age, who were still tending the herds at the cattle-posts in the country. For the men and to a lesser extent for the children also it was a time of leisure. Nevertheless although children were often seen playing or romping together, we never observed them making string figures. By setting the example ourselves, however, we were able to attract the attention of a small boy and of two girls about fifteen years old. On being given a piece of string the small boy readily produced a number of different patterns which will be discussed later. From the two girls we learned one complete figure and a trick, and they also showed us two more figures of which, however, we unfortunately failed to obtain either the names or the methods of construction. One of these resembled the figure recorded by Hornell from the Temne called *Sisa*,<sup>2</sup> but whether it was made in the same way we are not sure, though we have some reason for supposing that it was.

In order to obtain further information about Kxatla cat's cradles we appealed to Modise Rapô ("Stephen,") a man about twenty-two years old, who spoke English and had proved himself a reliable informant on other occasions. Although he himself was only able to show us four new figures, he summoned other boys from whom we learned a fifth, and he also gave us the following account of cat's cradles which was taken down to his dictation :—

*Malepa ke methsamekô e e thsamekwang ke basimane kampo basetsana. Ba e thsameka ka mexala e e dirilweng ka lodi la mosu kampo moôka. Ka mexala e ba dira dithswanthsô tsa dilô di le dintsi, jaka ditswalô, malaô, di-*

<sup>1</sup>W. A. Cunnington, "String Figures and Tricks from Central Africa," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxvi (1906), p. 127, Pl. xiv, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup>J. Hornell, "String Figures from Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Zanzibar," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, LX (1930), p. 93.

*pholo di panne, mokxôrôb.* Ba di dirêla mo menwaneng ya bona ya maoto le ya diatla ka mexala ka xonne ba e thswaphathswapha. Ba thsameka xantsi xe ba sena se ba ka se dirang, boxolo xo xo thsamekiwa bosixo ka e le ôna nakô. e xo senang tirô. Ba e thsamekêla xongwe le xongwe fa ba neng teng, jaka kwa merakeng kampo masimông le xe e le mo xae. Faxongwe xe motho a le nosi a bôna a bolaiwa ke bodudu a ka e thsameka, mme xantsi e thamekiwa xe batho ba le bantsi ba kxôbokane xolô xo le xongwe. Ba e thsameka xo supe-tsana xore mongwe o ka thsameka xo phala ba bangwe kampo xo ruta ba bangwe, mme mothameka o xa ba o tsêe jaka selo se se thlôkexang, ba o thsameka fêla. O thamekiwa ke mongwe le mongwe, mme xantsi tôta o thamekiwa ke basimane le basetsana, le batho ba batona le bôna xe ba rata xo o thameka ba ka dira jalo. Malepa a rutwa ke motho o ba bônang xore o a itse tôta, faxongwe motho ya tle e re xe a bôna a itse malepa a kopa motho xore xe a rata xore a mo rute o ka mo patêla ka šiling kampo teke kampo sikispêns kampo sengwenyana fêla, faxongwe o mo ruta fêla.

(Translation) :

“ ‘ Cat’s cradles ’<sup>1</sup> is a game which is played by boys or girls. They play it with strings made from the innermost bark of *Acacia litakunensis* or *Acacia karroo*. With these strings they make representations of many objects, such as gates, beds, oxen inspanned; and a hut. They make them on the fingers of their feet and hands by twisting the strings around. They often play when they have nothing to do, especially in the evening, for that is the time when there is no work. They play it wherever they happen to be, as at the cattle-posts or at the lands or even at home. Sometimes when a man is alone and feels oppressed by loneliness he may play it, but often it is played when many people have come together at one spot. They play it to show one another who can play better than the others or to teach the others, but this game is not regarded as something of special value, they simply play it. It is played by anybody, most usually by boys and girls, but even adults if they wish to play it can do so. Cat’s cradles are taught (to people) by somebody who they see knows them well ; sometimes a person who realises that he knows (how to make) cat’s cradles will request another that if he wants him to teach him he must pay him a shilling or threepence or sixpence or some other trifle, sometimes he teaches him for nothing.’ ”

It will be seen that in this text reference is made to a competitive element sometimes featuring in the making of string figures. We could not, however, discover that this ever plays a serious part in the game.

<sup>1</sup> *Malepa*, the term used for “ cat’s cradles ” generally, is probably derived from the verb *xo lepa*, “ to tie in an intricate and difficult knot,” and has also the general meaning of “ problems, intricacies, mysteries.”

When a number of children are amusing themselves in this way, it does occasionally happen that they vie with one another in the making of intricate designs, but it does not appear that any special esteem is attached to the most successful exponent, nor is there any other form of inducement to people to try and excel in it. Payment for teaching is in reality very seldom made ; for the most part a person knowing how to make a certain figure will willingly teach it to others, without expecting any remuneration. In the description and teaching of the figures, no use seems to be made of special technical terms for different openings and movements ; the teacher demonstrates the way in which the figure is made, and the learner then endeavours to imitate it, the teacher correcting any error by altering the position of the string on the learner's hands and telling him what to do instead.

It is interesting to notice that although according to the boys the making of cat's cradles seems to be primarily a means of whiling away the times of leisure at the cattle-posts, girls as well as boys know the game and are familiar with the same figures. Those people whom we questioned on the subject knew only a few. It is possible, however, that this may have been due in part to our using adults as informants, people who were not accustomed to playing the game regularly and so had forgotten patterns which they had known in their youth. That this was so is suggested partly by the fact that Stephen himself made one or two false attempts before he could remember any but the two simplest figures, and failed entirely to remember another which he tried to make ; while another informant, a woman of about the same age, when given the string and asked to make a figure invariably retired by herself, blushing and giggling, to practise the movements in private before she would perform in front of us, and she too was forced to abandon one which she had attempted.

The total number of string figures which we were satisfied were genuine and of which we were able to learn the movements as well as the names were only six ; to these may be added two string tricks.

### I. *Setswalō*, a Gate.

#### Opening A.<sup>1</sup>

Release thumbs.

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<sup>1</sup>The terminology used for describing the manipulation of the strings is that elaborated by Dr. Haddon and the late Dr. Rivers. See Kathleen Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands*, 1911, and *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th. ed., 1929, pp. 323 ff. In the diagrams the initials Th, I, M, R, and L stand for the thumb, index, middle, ring and little fingers respectively.



STRING FIGURES  
PLATE I.



Fig. I.



Fig. II.  
*Setswaló, A Gate.*

Pass thumbs distal to the index finger loops and from the distal side pick up on the backs of the thumbs the ulnar little finger string.

Release little fingers.

From the proximal side, pick up on the backs of thumbs the radial index finger string.

*Navaho* thumbs.

There is now between the thumb and index finger of each hand a long, narrow triangle, of which the strings forming the apex are looped over the string which runs from the radial side of the thumb to the ulnar side of the index finger.

From the distal side insert each index finger into its corresponding triangle, at the same time allowing the index finger loops to slip off.

Extend the figure by turning the palms of the hands up and away from you, and straightening the index fingers.

(Page 257. Fig. 1).

A figure identical with this has been recorded by Hornell from the Mende, Temne and Kru of West Africa, among the first of whom it is called *Gama fila*, "Two Eyes."<sup>1</sup> The method of construction is not absolutely identical, since in the West African form the little fingers are not released until just before the figure is extended, while among the Ba-Kxatla they are released as soon as their ulnar string has been picked up by the thumbs. The net result of both methods is, however, the same.

## II. *Setswalō*, a Gate.

(Plate I. Fig. II).

Opening A.

Release thumbs.

Passing the thumbs proximal to the index and little finger loops, pick up on their backs from the proximal side the ulnar little finger string and return.

Release little fingers.

Pick up on the backs of the thumbs from the distal side the ulnar index finger string.

<sup>1</sup>Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91, fig. 6.

Pass little fingers distal to the radial index finger string, and from the proximal side pick up on their backs the ulnar thumb string.

**Release thumbs.**

Pass thumbs distal to the index finger loops, and from the proximal side pick up on their backs the radial little finger strings.

With thumbs pick up from the proximal side the radial index finger strings at a point close to the index fingers.

*Navaho* thumbs.

There is now a small triangle between the thumb and first finger of each hand.

From the distal side insert each index finger into its thumb-triangle, allowing the loop on each index finger to slip off.

Release little fingers, and extend the figure by turning the hands up and away from you and straightening the index fingers.

(Page 257. Fig. II).

The same figure is recorded by Hornell from the Temne, Sherbro, Kru and Mendè, among the last of whom it is known as *Gama Nani*, "Four Eyes." The method of construction is again almost identical, the only variation being once more the order in which the little fingers are released.<sup>1</sup> From the BaToka, Haddon reports a figure, *Amadande*, which resembles the Kxatla figure in every detail of construction, and according to him it is also found among the BaRotse and the ASena at Umtali.<sup>2</sup> Among the Yoruba of West Africa it is known as the "Calabash Net,"<sup>3</sup> and, although the drawing is not quite distinct, it seems to be represented in the second design reproduced by Junod from the Ba-Thonga.<sup>4</sup>

### III. *Setswalō*, a Gate.

Hang the string on the left wrist so that two equal loops depend from its ulnar and radial sides.

<sup>1</sup> Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> J. Parkinson, "Yoruba String Figures," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* xxxvi (1906), p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Junod, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 174.

## STRING FIGURES.

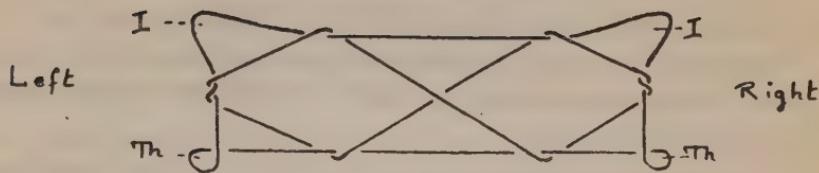


Fig. I.

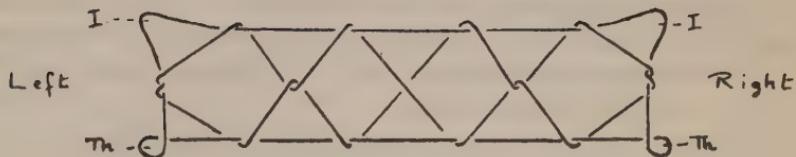


Fig. II.

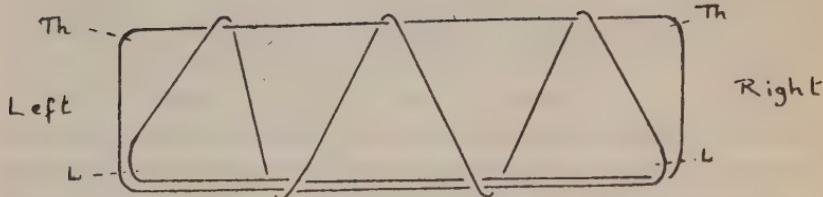


Fig. III.

From the ulnar side, pass the right hand through these two loops successively, and extend the loops between the wrists, turning the palms of the hands towards each other.

There are now two parallel strings running from wrist to wrist, and two other strings which cross in the centre of the figure.

From the ulnar and distal side pick up on the palmar aspect of the little fingers these two strings which cross, and hold them firmly between the ring and little fingers.

With an outward swinging motion, throw the radial wrist string over the hands so that it hangs down on the ulnar side, and draw tight.

Insert thumbs from the proximal side and pick up on the back of each the corresponding radial little finger string which runs obliquely from one corner to the centre of the figure.

Holding this string firmly between the thumb and the base of the index finger, and grasping the ulnar little finger strings with all four fingers of both hands, so as to hold them down,—the palms being turned away from the body,—throw the ulnar wrist string forward over the hands, so that the wrists are freed.

Release the ulnar little finger strings and extend the figure by opening the palms of the hands which are held facing each other.

(Page 257. Fig. III).

This figure is almost identical with that described by Haddon from the Zambesi, called the Batoka Gorge,<sup>1</sup> and also with that recorded by Hornell from the Kru.<sup>2</sup> The only difference in the Kxatla figure lies in the arrangement of the strings of the central triangle. In the Kru version the right hand string at the apex passes behind the upper horizontal string, and the left hand one passes over it ; in the Kxatla version the converse obtains. The difference is due to the fact that whereas in the figures described by Haddon and Hornell the free hand enters the two dependent loops in the first movement from the radial side, among the BaKxatla it is inserted from the ulnar side. In order to assure ourselves that this was indeed the correct opening, one of us when learning the figure purposely followed the opening familiar in the Batoka Gorge, and was corrected by Stephen, our instructor, who insisted that the hand must pass into the loops from the ulnar side and not from the radial.

<sup>1</sup> Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4.

<sup>2</sup> Hornell *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

IV. *Mokxōrō*, a Hut.

(Plate II, Fig. II).

Place the string on the left hand in Position I.

Pass the right hand through the dependent loop from the distal side and to the ulnar side of the hand, and from the back of the left hand take hold of the palmar string from between the left index finger and thumb.

Draw this string across the back of the left hand, from the radial to the ulnar side, across the front of the hand in the opposite direction, and, without twisting it, loop it over the left index finger.

With the thumb and index finger of the right hand pick up at the base of the ring finger the palmar string which runs between the ring and little fingers, draw it out and, again without twisting it, loop it over the thumb of the left hand.

With the right thumb and index finger pick up the string which runs across the knuckles of the left hand, draw it forward, over on to the palmar aspect, and then pull it out to the right until all the strings are taut, moving the left hand from side to side to facilitate the smooth running of the strings. To display the figure correctly, the left hand should be held low, palm upwards, and the right hand held above it, with the palm turned downwards, the erstwhile dorsal string of the left hand being looped over the index finger of the right.

(Page 260. Fig. IV).

This figure, like those already described, is found in other parts of Africa besides Bechuanaland. Cunningham reports it from the southern end of Lake Tanganyika as *Nsakwe*, a temporary grass hut,<sup>1</sup> and Hornell from the Mende of West Africa as *Kikiwe*, a small thatched round hut put up for games or over graves.<sup>2</sup>

The *mokxōrō* of the BaKxatla is a special variety of hut erected only in the immediate vicinity of the *kxōtla*, or men's discussion-place, and is used by them as a shelter in cold or rainy weather, and as a guest-house for any visiting strangers who cannot be accommodated elsewhere. It differs from the ordinary hut in that the cylindrical wall is built not of earth but of poles which are planted in a circle at some little distance apart.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.

## STRING FIGURES.

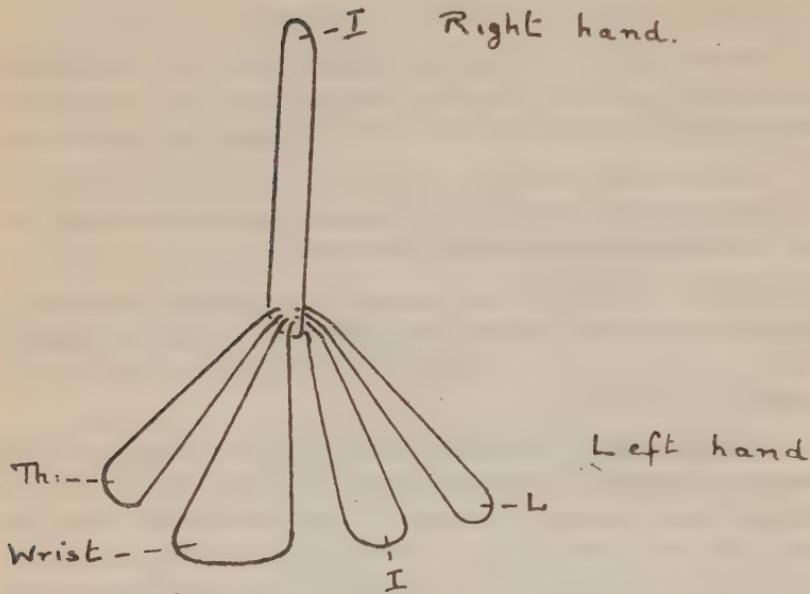


Fig. IV

*The arrangement of the strings as they pass through the upper loop is too complex to be represented clearly or accurately in the diagram.*



Fig. V.

The last two Kxatla figures to be described here differ from the preceding ones in that they are played with the toes as well as with the fingers.

#### V. *Menwana ya Kxōxo*, Hen's Toes.

The performer sits on the ground, with knees flexed, his feet before him, the toes pointing upwards.

A short loop of string is stretched between the big toes.

Holding the hands parallel to each other, with backs uppermost, grasp the radial toe string from the distal side with the little fingers, and draw it out a short distance towards you. The little fingers should be crooked so as to hold the string firmly.

Pass the index fingers distal to the radial and ulnar toe strings, and from the ulnar side pick up on their palmar surface the ulnar toe string.

Still holding this string, bring the index fingers towards you, again distal to the radial toe string. Pass the index fingers proximal to that part of the radial toe string which lies between the two little fingers, and with the tip of each index finger pick up from the distal side the corresponding ulnar toe string at a point close to the big toe.

Crooking the index fingers to hold these strings firm, bring the index fingers towards you, allowing that part of the radial toe string which lies across their backs to slip off them.

Release big toes, and extend the figure by drawing the hands apart, with palms turned towards you and the index and little fingers still crooked.

(Page 260. Fig. V).

This figure resembles in form that known as "The Leashing of Lochiel's Dogs," which under different titles is found not only in Great Britain, but also in North America and in other parts of Africa. The Kxatla method of making it does not, however, appear to be recorded from any other tribe. The Temne figure *Karump* (second form) described by Hornell,<sup>1</sup> and the Tanganyika figure *Umuzwa* described by Cunningham<sup>2</sup> are almost identical with the *Menwana ya Kxōxo*, but differ from it in that for the former the initial move of the index finger is proximal and not distal to the radial toe string.

<sup>1</sup> Hornell, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

VI. *Dipholo di Panne*, Oxen Inspanned, or, alternatively, *Bolaō*, the Bed.  
(Plate II, Fig. I).

The performer sits on the ground as for making the previous figure. Place the string as a quadrupal ring over the big toe of each foot and extend.

There are now four radial and four ulnar toe strings. For convenience these will be referred to as R1, R2, R3, R4, U1, U2, U3, and U4 respectively. Holding the hands parallel with their backs uppermost, pick up R1 and R2 both together on the palmar surface of the little fingers.

Crook the little fingers so as to hold the strings firm, and draw them out a short distance towards you.

Pass the index fingers distal to R1, R2 and R3, and from the distal side pick up R3 on their palmar surface, and return.

Still holding R3, pass the index fingers proximal to R1 and R2, and distal to R4, allowing R3 to lie taut on their palmar surface.

From the distal side pick up R4 on the palmar aspect of the index fingers, and return passing proximal to R1 and R2 and distal to R3.

Still holding R4, pass the index fingers proximal to R1, R2 and R3, and distal to U1, allowing R4 to lie taut on the palmar aspect of these fingers. As before pick up U1 from the distal side and return, passing proximal to R1, R2 and R3, and distal to R4.

Continue in the same way to pick up in turn U2, U3 and U4.

When all the strings have been picked up like this, seven of them will lie across the dorsal side of the index fingers (R1 and R2 lying one on top of the other), and one, the last to be picked up, U4, will lie across their palmar surface.

A second person sitting opposite the performer now picks up U4 from the proximal side and draws it out towards himself.

At the same time the first performer releases his index fingers and helps to extend the figure by pulling R1 and R2 (which he still holds with his little fingers) a little further towards him.

(Page 263. Fig. VI).

The number of oxen in the span will depend upon the number of

STRING FIGURES  
PLATE II.



Fig. I.  
*Dipholo di panne, Oxen inspanned.*



Fig. II.  
*Mokxôrô, A Hut*



## STRING FIGURES.

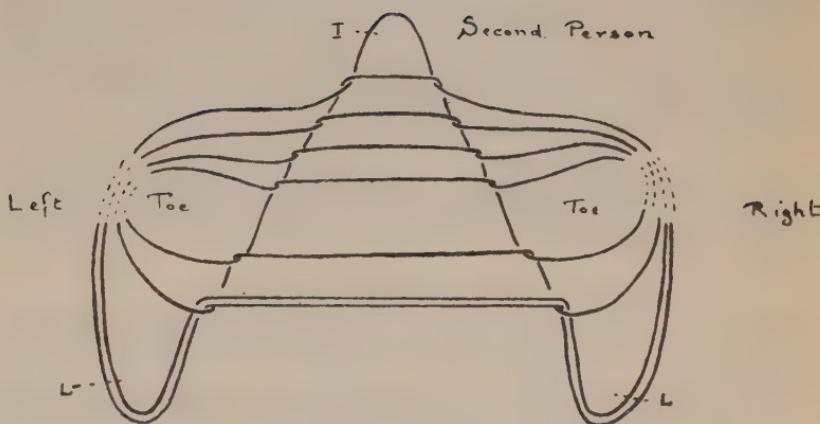


Fig. VI.

*The order in which the strings overlap as they pass between the first and second toes varies according to the order in which the radial strings and the ulnar strings are picked up. Concerning this there is no fixed rule apart from the fact that the radial strings are always manipulated before any of the ulnar strings.*

radial and ulnar toe strings, there being always two oxen less than the total number of strings. The example described gives six span of oxen.

As will have been noticed, the initial movement in this figure is the same as for "Hen's Toes." An unnamed figure, very similar to this, has been recorded by Cunnington from the south end of Lake Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup> The construction of the latter is, however, somewhat different, the index finger being passed proximal instead of distal to the initial radial string held by the little fingers. This results in a somewhat more complicated set of movements. In this difference from the Kxatla "Oxen Inspanned," the Tanganyika figure resembles the second version of the Temne *Karump* which, as has already been mentioned, is identical with the Kxatla "Hen's Toes" except in this one respect.

This completes the collection obtained of genuine string figures. In addition there are two string tricks, both of which were shown to us by women :—

*Malepa a Molala*, "Cat's Cradle of the Neck."

Put the string round the neck so that it hangs down in front in a single loop.

Pick up the string on the right hand side, about half way down, and hold it in the teeth, the lips being kept closed.

Repeat with the left-hand string.

It now appears as though the two strings were crossed in the mouth,—that the string hanging down from the left-hand corner of the mouth were the original right-hand string, and vice versa. Actually, however, care is taken that they shall not be so, but that the original left-hand string shall issue from the mouth on the left-hand side, the right-hand string on the right.

The left and right-hand strings hanging from the mouth are now grasped by the left and right hands respectively, and the dependent loop is thrown over the back of the head.

Still holding the strings in the mouth, and with both hands, clap the hands before the face and then draw them apart, at the same time allowing the strings to slip from between the teeth.

Both strings will now lie free at the back of the neck.

A hanging trick which very closely resembles this, and is indeed a more elaborate form of it, has been recorded by Kidd from Basutoland.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cunnington, *op. cit.*, p. 127, pl. xiv., No. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Dudley Kidd, *loc. cit.*

The Kxatla version is very easy to perform, the only movement demanding skill being that in which the strings are seemingly crossed in the mouth but actually kept apart.

The second string trick, for which no name was given, is made as follows. The performer sits on the ground with feet before him ; the looped string is passed through a ring, or some similar object, and extended between the big toes in such a way that the ring lies halfway between them. Four strings can now be distinguished ; the radial and ulnar lying to the right of the ring, and the radial and ulnar lying to the left of it. From the distal side pick up the right ulnar string, draw it forward distal to the right radial, and without twisting loop it over the left big toe. Insert the thumb and index finger of the right hand into this new loop, from the distal side, pick up the left proximal radial string and slip it off the toe. With the toes draw the strings taut, and the ring will fall off.

In addition to the string figures and tricks described above, we were shown a great variety of patterns by the small boy who was the first person we questioned on the subject of cat's cradles. In all he produced some thirty-one different figures, the great majority of which were representations of different kinds of birds. None of these were the same as those made by any of the older members of the tribe, and there is more reason for supposing that most, if not all of them, were of his own invention. Our reasons for doubting their authenticity as traditional forms may be briefly stated.

The child himself (Plate I, Fig. I) seemed to be something of a social outcast. He was never seen to play with or speak to any other children, and he was the only child whom we ever saw struck by an adult. He spent most of his time hanging round the trading store, and on our arriving there he attached himself to us. When we began to encourage him to show us cat's cradles, he found himself, for the first time in his life perhaps, the object of friendly attention, and, it must be added, the recipient of sundry sweets. It was to his interest therefore to retain our attention by means of producing an ever-increasing variety of string figures. This alone aroused our suspicion, which was heightened by other incidents. In the first place, when, on the second day of our work with him, the boy was asked to repeat some of the figures which he had produced on the previous day, he never once succeeded in doing so. Willingly enough he would make a figure for which we asked by name, but it never corresponded to that bearing the same name which he had shown us before. Needless to say this would not in itself prove that he was inventing the

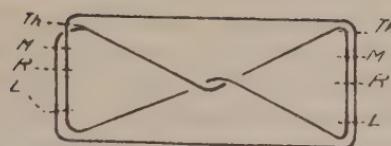
figures, since it is not uncommon for different ones to be called by the same name (as shown in the three different forms of *setswalō* described above), but it was further noticed that when asked for the name of a new pattern he would often turn his hands towards him, look at the design made by the strings, ponder for a few seconds and then name it. For the first eight or ten figures he readily gave a name or simply called them *malepa*, the generic word for string figures, but for most of the rest this pause for thought was very noticeable. It may be added that we ourselves were not able to perceive any remarkable similarity between the pattern and the name given in those instances where we understood the meaning of the latter; nor, where two patterns were called by the same name, did there appear to be any particular resemblance between them (cf. *Kxōxo*, domestic fowl, Pl. III, Nos. 1 and 2). Further, there was one figure (Pl. III, No. 3), which he produced twice successively and to which in succession he gave the names *Rankurunyane* and *Leēba*, dove, and which, but for the substitution of the right thumb for the right index finger, was identical with a figure made a few minutes before and named *Mpyē*, ostrich. A similar repetition was noticed in respect of *Mamasilō* (*a nōka*), crane (Pl. III, No. 4) and *Kxaka*, guinea-fowl (Pl. III, No. 5), which are the same save that in the latter the left index takes the place of the left thumb. For the rest although many of the figures resemble one another very closely, due probably to the fact that practically all of them are supposed to represent birds, yet they are all distinct in some small detail.

One incident in particular, though slight in itself, tended to confirm our suspicions that some at least of these figures were being invented for our benefit. On one occasion, when the boy had completed a figure, the string slipped and he repeated the last two or three movements. But the net result was not quite the same, for a loop which before had passed over the thumb and index finger, now lay over the index finger alone, a change which produced a marked difference in the completed pattern, but of which the child himself seemed wholly unaware. Whether any of his figures were genuine traditional ones may therefore be questioned, but it seems very possible that some of the first ones he showed us may have been, or that they were at least not invented on the spur of the moment. As a slight indication of this we may note that when on the first day of collecting figures we asked the child to make *Kxōxo*, a figure he had made some ten minutes before, he rather indignantly replied that he had already done so, and instead of complying with our request proceeded to a fresh design.

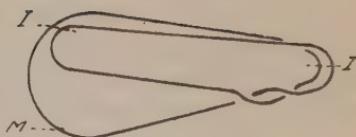
Clearly the readiness with which the child accepted the proffered

## STRING FIGURES.

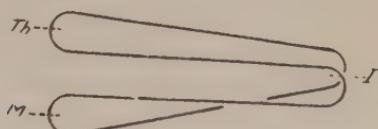
## PLATE III.



1. MXXO



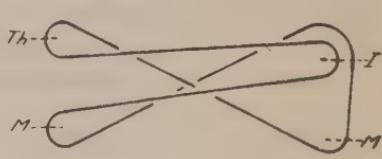
2. KXOXO



3. LEEBA



4. MAMASILO (A NOKA)



5. KXAKA

## String Figures of Birds.

1 and 2, Domestic Fowl. 3, Dove. 4, Crane.  
5, Guinea Fowl. (See p. 266)

piece of string and began to manipulate it showed that he must have been accustomed to amusing himself in this way. He denied that anybody had taught him how to make the figures, but this must probably not be interpreted too literally, since the older boys and girls also said that no one had taught them how to make their cat's cradles, but stated later that they had "picked up" the movements from one another. It was interesting to notice that in all the figures he produced, this small boy never once used any of the opening movements which are characteristic of African cat's cradles. Generally he began by placing the string on the dorsal aspect of the middle and ring fingers of the right hand, passing between the middle and index, and ring and little fingers, and over the wrist of the left hand. The construction of each figure appeared in most cases to be composed of only a few simple movements, but some were more complicated. Unfortunately he worked too quickly to enable us to record the method of manipulation, and since he would never repeat any figure, we had to content ourselves with noting down the finished design.

It has seemed worth while to discuss this small boy's efforts at cat's cradles at some length and to reproduce some of his patterns, because as yet very little appears to be known concerning the genesis and development of string figures and the invention of new designs. It must be granted that this child was abnormal in his loneliness and isolation from his fellows, but this fact does not greatly detract from the interest and importance of finding that he had apparently worked out for himself his own technique in manipulating the string, and was sufficiently adept and interested to invent new figures, even if this was done merely to retain our friendly and profitable attention.

## TWALA

### THE NEED FOR THE REGISTRATION OF CUSTOMARY UNIONS

BY H. BRITTEN, CHIEF MAGISTRATE, JOHANNESBURG,  
*Formerly Resident Magistrate, King Williams Town*

*Twala*—to carry off—is the practice of forced marriage common among several of the Native tribes of south-eastern Africa. The methods of compulsion exercised vary considerably in individual cases. The form most repugnant to our European civilisation is where an unwilling bride is compelled by force to submit herself to the man for whom she may have an aversion, or in any event is not the man of her choice, but who may be acceptable to her parents or guardians. Cases have been known where a girl, refusing to gratify the desire of the man wishing to make her his wife, has been compelled by physical force to surrender in circumstances of the greatest brutality. It quite frequently happens that where a girl is unwilling to marry she is carried off and locked up in a hut, and where, worn out with importunity, threats or even violence, she sooner or later surrenders. In such a case, if the matter comes to the notice of the authorities a charge of rape follows.

The term *twala* is also applied in those cases where an elopement takes place, sometimes with the object of compelling an unwilling parent to give his consent to a marriage. The father or guardian in such a case has a right to damages, the amount of which varies according as to whether the girl has been injured or not. Should marriage follow, the damages paid in the form of cattle are merged in the *lobolo*. The element of compulsion enters into the matter, in that the father must in the circumstances consent willy-nilly to a union which he may otherwise regard unfavourably.

Another form of *twala* takes place where an impecunious father, requiring the *lobolo* received for a daughter to obtain a wife for a son, or, owing to poverty, finds himself unable to provide the usual wedding feast, and connives at the apparent forcible removal of his daughter. *Twala* in such a case is a pretence and is resorted to in order to save the girl's face, as she, like her European sister, looks forward to a conventional public wedding with its feasting and dancing, but submits with some out-

ward show of resistance when she knows that circumstances are against her.

As evidence of the evil effect of this custom I propose relating the facts, although they are somewhat unpleasant, of two cases that came before the Eastern Districts Court a few years ago. The first was a charge of murder against a Native girl at the Butterworth Circuit Court. The parents of the girl desired her marriage to a wealthy elderly polygamist. The girl refused to give her consent. She was locked up in a hut with the deceased for the night, when ultimately the latter went off to sleep. The girl, awaiting her opportunity, got up and, finding an axe in the hut, fractured the skull of the man, causing his death. The jury found the accused not guilty, and while the verdict may not have unqualified support in law, the justice of the discharge cannot be questioned. The Court was crowded with Native men, who were aghast at the verdict.

The second case came before the Circuit Court at King William's Town. An elderly Native was charged with the crime of rape on a girl apparently 12 or 13 years of age. He claimed that the girl was his bride and that her guardian, the child being an orphan, had given her consent to the marriage. The defence of consent on the part of the guardian was not established. The evidence showed that the girl, after having been stripped of clothing, was taken to the hut of the accused, where the offence was committed. The accused was found guilty and sentenced to receive a whipping of seven strokes and ordered to compensate the girl in the sum of £20, or in default of payment to be imprisoned for two years with hard labour. The accused served the sentence of imprisonment, thus evading the object of the Court to provide compensation of the equivalent of four head of cattle for the girl.

The learned judge, in passing sentence, remarked that a girl cannot be forced to marry against her consent, nor can the parent hand her over to a man whom she will not take against her will. The custom of *twala* when carried out in this way is an evil one and should be put down. The remarks of the presiding judge were delivered in a court crowded with Natives. At a later date the attention of the chiefs and headmen in the district was drawn to this case, and they were at the same time informed of the facts as well as of the Butterworth case. The evils of *twala* custom were also pointed out. As a result of this publicity the proceedings of the Native Court reveal the fact that in one of the locations soon thereafter a kraal head removed a girl to his kraal, intending to make her his wife, but having heard of the King William's Town case and the injunction to chiefs and headmen to try and put down the *twala* custom, he did the

girl no injury beyond the actual carrying off. No doubt the infliction of lashes acted as a deterrent.

In the King William's Town case, as well as in several others which have come to my notice, the girl concerned was an orphan. The probabilities are that the majority of cases of *twala* occur where parental protection is wanting. One can readily understand a daughter being able to prevail over the avarice of the father in the case of a proposed marriage repulsive to herself, as evidence of Natives showing great love for their children is quite frequently found. In the case of an orphan, with no parents to intercede on her behalf, the avarice, most likely of an uncle, probably prevails.

Cases of *twala* frequently come before King William's Town courts, either as civil claims or owing to some criminal charge arising therefrom. It is known that *twala* is practised to a great extent in this area ; in fact, it is confidently asserted that the majority of marriages among uncivilised Natives in the Ciskei take place under *twala* conditions. It is therefore a serious state of affairs that the element of compulsion enters so largely into the greatest social event in the life of the female Native. The writings of the early missionaries provide evidence of the existence of the *twala* custom, while accounts of the carrying off of Native girls appear in the Press from time to time. The fact that this custom exists to this great extent in the Province where the Native has more nearly approached a civilised standard calls for investigation.

Among the Zulu tribes of Natal and Zululand *twala* as practised in the Transkei and the Ciskei is not known to the same extent. Section 277 (b) of the Natal Code of 1891 was intended to combat the evil. The section provides that it is an offence to "abduct an unmarried girl, the consent of the girl to be no defence." In the absence of an age limit the provision applies to an unmarried girl of any age. No mention is made of the consent of the parents or of a guardian.

In the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Bechuanaland the majority of the Natives belong to what may be termed the Central South African tribes, who speak the Chuana or allied languages. They are less warlike and more humane than the Natives of the Eastern littoral and with the exception of some evidence of marriage by capture during periods of war, compulsory matrimony forms no part of their social system. It is probable that at some earlier period they formed part of or came into contact with tribes living under matrilineal conditions where the woman occupies the dominant position. In my own experience I found no evidence of *twala* marriages among these people. The foregoing remarks apply

more or less to the Bapedi, Bavenda and Thonga tribes of the Northern Transvaal. In regard to the latter tribe, however, Junod, in his work, *The Life of an African Tribe*, refers to marriage by abduction among people unable to pay dowry. In much the same way in the Eastern littoral *twala* is found to be mainly the resort of the impecunious.

The question might quite naturally be asked why is the criminal law not invoked to prevent a custom which operates so harshly on a defenceless section of the people? To begin with, it is extremely difficult to obtain evidence in cases arising out of *twala* for the reason that the male portion of the Native population, who control public opinion, believe in the custom. This is not difficult to understand, in view of the fact that they cannot be sufferers themselves. The custom is doubtless a relic of marriage by capture in war, a convenient method of obtaining a wife without payment of dowry.

In common law abduction is a crime. It is a crime to take an unmarried person under the age of 21 years, out of the possession of and against the will of her parents or guardians, with the intention that the accused or someone else may marry or have carnal connection with such person. The provision applies to males as well as females. The person's consent is no defence. The taking of a person over 21 years of age is therefore not abduction, but the circumstances may give rise to a charge of assault where there is no consent. The law fails in its application to Natives in that they practice *twala*; the consent of parents or guardians is usually forthcoming in consequence. The necessity of proving dishonourable intention also leaves a loophole for escape in those cases where overt acts have been anticipated and prevented.

Cases occasionally come before the Courts arising out of the *twala* practice where the facts point to contraventions of the common law of rape, indecent assault or common assault, or the attempt to commit those crimes. Such cases however are infrequent, as the facts are usually concealed. *Twala* is an evil existing only in the Native areas. An amendment of the common law somewhat on the lines of the Natal code, applicable in those areas, would be of great assistance in checking the custom. The following is suggested for consideration: "The abduction of an unmarried girl is an offence. The consent of the girl or her parents or guardians shall be no defence."

This however would hardly meet the needs of the situation, and I suggest that the compulsory registration of Native customary unions is desirable, both to combat *twala* and to raise the status of women in Native customary unions. This question of registration was fully considered

by the Commission on Native Law and Custom appointed by the Government of the Cape Colony in the year 1880. The personnel of the Commission consisted of such men as Sir Jacob Barry, the Hon. Charles Brownlee, Rev. James Stewart, the Hon. Sir T. Upington, Sir W. Bisset Berry, Sir Richard Solomon and Senator Colonel the Hon. Sir Walter Stanford. The last named is the sole survivor. No abler commission was ever appointed in South Africa and no Commission has ever provided a more comprehensive report. The Commission had the advantage of obtaining the evidence of the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who is described as the greatest administrator of Native affairs this continent has ever known. Sir Theophilus Shepstone advocated strongly the registration of Native unions for the reason that it would raise the status of women and be the first step towards the control of polygamy. He contended that registration implied recognition, but not necessarily legalisation of polygamy, that registration to be effective must be compulsory, and that all wives should be registered. He claimed that the marriage regulations worked satisfactorily in Natal where *twala* is uncommon and that registration in no way interferes with existing rights. He urged the importance of some public expression by the girl of her consent to marriage.

The Commission reported (Sec. 91) that registration was to be aimed at as a means of securing certainty as to the rights of husbands, wives, and children, and to prevent that utter confusion into which rights to property of deceased persons would, as the wealth of Natives increased, be brought, but that it would be unwise to insist upon registration as an essential to customary unions until the majority of the Natives recognised the benefit which such registration would be to themselves. At that time therefore a permissive form of registration by the husband of all marriages in the Transkei and of a similar registration of the first wife only in the Cape Colony proper was recommended.

The following essentials were suggested :

- (a) Consent of the persons to be married and, if the woman to be married be below the age of 21 years and not previously married, then the consent also of her father or guardian.
- (b) The handing over or giving away of the woman to the husband or his representative, provided in such case the woman shall not be above the age of 21 years and shall not have been previously married.

It was laid down that a marriage feast, the marriage dance, the slaughtering of an ox or other animal for festivities or the payment of

*lobolo* are corroborative evidence of marriage. Registration by the husband, the absence of provision for the attendance of and official witness at the ceremony and the permissive nature of the proposals were unsatisfactory features. They were apparently never acted upon. While I am loth to criticise the report of a body for which I have none but the profoundest admiration, I feel, with all respect, that on this point the breadth of view shown throughout the remainder of the report was not maintained. There was a fear that it was dangerous to recognise polygamy as had long been advocated by such men as the Bishop of Calcutta and Bishop Colenso. The Commission did not, it may be pointed out, have the benefit of modern ethnological teachings.

The commission thus failed to provide the only remedy likely to secure that certainty as to the rights of husbands, wives and children and prevent confusion in future, the importance of which it recognised, by not insisting on registration as an essential to Native customary unions. The report appeared 47 years ago and there can be no doubt that by now registration, with an official ceremony, however simple, as a condition precedent, would have been firmly established. Who can say how many Native women would not have been happier because of the absence of that compulsion which to-day has free licence, or how many weary hours spent in the Courts establishing facts would not have been saved by the production of proof of registration?

Prior to the promulgation of Proclamation 142 of 1910 the Transkeian General Regulations provided for the registration of the first marriage according to Native custom. The effect of this was to bring this union under the Colonial law and to give community of property—a principle so entirely foreign to Natives—and to make the wives of unregistered marriages into concubines. These considerations served to deter Natives from registering.

This question of the registration of Native customary unions has frequently been discussed by the Transkeian General Council and urged very strongly by Natives. A few years ago a resolution that Government be respectfully requested to make legal provision for the registration of all unions under Native customary forms in the Transkeian Territories was passed unanimously. To the great surprise of those who for some years had endeavoured to obtain the passage of the motion through the Council the subsequent magisterial conference declined to give its support, the reason advanced being that it would be difficult to get the Natives to agree and that registration without their whole-hearted support would be a failure.

One of the principal reasons for urging the advisability of registration is that certainty of facts is thus provided. One of the Native speakers at the Transkeian General Council particularly stressed this point. The unanimous decision of the Council to ask for provision for registration is proof that Native opinion is in favour.

Professor Jabavu in a lecture to his own people some years ago particularly pressed the point that the European was superior to the Native in that he showed proper respect for his womankind. A further point made at the General Council was that by registration marriage would be stabilised and the carrying-off of their daughters by impecunious undesirable young men would not be so prevalent. There can be no doubt therefore that intelligent Native opinion is in favour of registration. In moving the resolution which was adopted the Chairman of the Butterworth District Council, Mr. F. Brownlee, said :

" The whole social life of a people hangs upon the question of marriage. If their marriage ties are loose, their whole social life will be loose ; therefore there is every reason why the marriage bonds should be tightened up and made definite. Since there is in many cases no publicity there must naturally be obscurity. Registration would take the place of what originally had been publicity."

In Natal the marriage regulations of 1869 provide for the registration of all Native customary unions, the appointment of official witnesses who attend at the marriage ceremony and subsequently effect registration at the magistrate's office, and for the payment of a registration fee of 10s. The fees were originally paid into revenue and official witnesses granted an enhanced status equal to that of headmen, which entitled them to claim five head of cattle more than a commoner as dowry. It was found in practice that the payment of the 10s. fee was regarded as a tax on marriage, as indeed it was, and for a time registration proceeded slowly. Subsequently the Government increased the hut tax, then 7s. per annum, to 14s., thereby providing further necessary revenue. The marriage fee was then paid, 7s. 6d. to the chief and 2s. 6d. to the official witness. The practice continues to the present day. All Native customary unions in Natal are registered, and have been for over 50 years, and the system has been without doubt of great benefit to the Natives.

The Natal Code of 1875 laid down the essentials of a valid customary union to be : (1) The right to *lobolo* by the father or guardian of the girl ; (2) the consent of the father or guardian of the girl and of both the parties. (3) A marriage feast at which the husband or his representative, the intended wife and the official witness must be present. (4) Inquiry

by the official witness during the early part of the ceremony whether it was of her own free will and consent that the girl was about to be married. (5) The handing over of the intended wife by or on behalf of the father to or for the husband. (6) In the case of widows and divorced women it was essential that in addition to the payment of some consideration the official witness should publicly enquire whether the proposed marriage was taking place with the free consent of the woman, this ceremony to take place at some convenient period after engagement and prior to marriage.

The Natal Code of 1891 re-enacted these provisions and contained the further enactment that the consent of the father should not be withheld unreasonably. This Code also provided for :

1. The registration of the amount of *lobolo* owing and the time, manner and source from which the debt should be discharged.
2. That Native women and girls are not to be deemed or treated in any way as mere property or chattels, notwithstanding any property rights which may be connected with, or arise out of, their marriage.
3. Any kraal head or any other person who coerces any girl or woman to marry against her will shall be deemed guilty of an offence.

What appeals most strongly to judicial officers is the desirability of certainty in regard to the facts in disputes in the Courts. It is estimated that 80 per cent of the cases in the Native Court at King William's Town are matrimonial disputes. Magistrates in the Transkei have frequently informed me that, owing to absence of registration, facts in dispute are difficult to establish. A perusal of the reports of cases in the Native Appeal Courts confirms this. The disputes as to whether cattle paid over were for dowry or merely as damages are frequent. In other words, whether the parties are living together as husband and wife, or whether it is another case of a lover who has run away with a girl and is living with her against her parents' consent. I found one case in which the parties after living together for 20 years and having had seven children, the Court stated that the presumption was that the woman was his wife. In another case the Court said that the woman had four children by the man and this went far to show that a marriage had taken place. In another case the parties lived together two years. It was held that they were married. In similar circumstances the parties lived together some months, and it was held that marriage was consummated. In another case dowry was paid and the parties lived together for a month. It was held that marriage had taken place. In another case the facts were

decided on probabilities. It is only necessary to peruse these and other cases I have noted to realise the uncertainties that arise out of the unsatisfactory position calling for judgments on presumptions, probabilities or on facts that merely go far to establish the truth. Registration giving full particulars as to the parties, the date of the marriage and the particulars as to the dowry position would remove the majority of such uncertainties. It would appear that the Transkeian Courts go out of their way to find, in case of doubt, in favour of the presumption of marriage. It would be much better if all possibility of doubt was eliminated. The presence of the official witness is a safeguard that the rights of parties will be protected, that due decorum is observed, and invests the ceremony with an importance which is so highly desirable.

It has been said that difficulty is anticipated in affecting registration, in that the Natives will be opposed to it. If the matter is properly explained, the advantages of registration are so obvious that in my opinion the Natives will not oppose so beneficial a measure. Where there is a chief he should be paid half the fee and the official witness the other half, the reason being that the official witness, although enjoying the pleasure of attending wedding feasts, also has the responsibility of registration. The payment of fees would doubtless result in those benefiting therefrom using their power to see that the law is carried out.

We cannot expect among the Natives a relationship in which husband and wife are on terms of perfect equality, for the reason that we have not yet ourselves attained such an ideal. We should, however, assist in raising the status of Native women, and thereby of the whole race, by providing certainty as to their marriage state.

I think I have shown that *twala* is a cruel, unjust, degrading custom, repugnant to the principles of our civilisation and of natural justice. I have indicated also that in my opinion absence of formality in marriage is one of the causes of moral laxity. A marriage ceremony in the presence of an official marriage officer will greatly enhance the fact of marriage, while registration will eliminate almost all doubt as to facts. The essentials should be as simple as possible and should provide for a public ceremony at which the consent of the parties is publicly given in the presence of an official marriage officer, for payment of the prescribed fee, and for subsequent registration.

The Native Administration Act permits legislation by Proclamation. Let us hope that the Department of Native Affairs will utilise the machinery thus provided to establish a system of registration of Native customary unions in all Native areas where this is not yet done.



## BOOK NOTICES

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*The South-Eastern Bantu (Abe-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Lala).* By J. Henderson Soga. (*Bantu Studies*, Supplement No. 4.) pp. xxi, 490. Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1930. Price, 10s. 6d.

The history of the Bantu peoples during their migrations into South Africa and in the earlier days of their settlement here is still largely obscure. For this reason Mr. Soga's attempt to throw further light upon the subject will be welcomed by all students of South African ethnology, especially as it constitutes a very useful complement to Bryant's recent work on *Olden Times in Natal and Zululand*. Like the latter it deals with the tribal histories of the South Eastern Bantu only, but special emphasis is laid on the Xhosa-speaking cluster, of whom Bryant has hardly anything to say. The bulk of Mr. Soga's information is derived from Native sources, from tribal traditions and legends, and although he has exercised much critical restraint in tracing out and co-ordinating the history and chronology of his fellow-tribesmen, it is obvious that the volume must be regarded primarily as providing the raw material for the working-up of that history rather than as the final synthesis.

The first few chapters are easily the weakest in the book, and for all practical purposes can be disregarded. They attempt to deal with the general problem of the origin of the Bantu-speaking peoples and their early contacts with alien races, but for the most part Mr. Soga draws upon non-Bantu sources of a doubtful character, and commits himself to some rather fantastic theories of ethnic relationships, including yet another unconvincing attempt to reconcile the facts of ethnic history with biblical traditions. The two succeeding chapters, in which Mr. Soga discusses the methods and criteria for establishing the relationships between different tribes, are far more valuable, and incidentally contain a good deal of interesting information about the part played by certain customs in shaping the course of Native history.

The remaining and lengthiest part of the book contains a detailed account of the tribal and clan histories of the various South Eastern Bantu tribes, and here Mr. Soga succeeds in throwing some valuable light on the nature and chronology of the Bantu immigrations into South Africa. As will be seen from the sub-title, Mr. Soga classifies the South Eastern Bantu into abeNguni, aboMbo, and amaLala ; and he maintains that

these names represent the three main streams in which the people entered the country. The first to penetrate into Natal and Zululand were the amaLala (the ancestors of the modern amaBele, amaHlubi, amaZizi and other tribes), who belonged originally to the maKalanga of S. Rhodesia, but early broke away in large sections and travelled south. The next to arrive seem to have been the abeNguni (a term which Mr. Soga restricts to the ancestors of the modern Xhosa cluster and the aNgoni of Nyasaland), in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and although their origin is uncertain, Mr. Soga believes it possible that they may be derived from a section of the amaZimba, who devastated the country between the Zambesi River and Mombasa in the sixteenth century. Finally came the abaMbo (the ancestors of the modern abaMbo, amaMpondo, amaMpondonisi, amaXesibesi, amaBomvu, amaBomvana, ama-Swazi and others), who, coming down from the north with the ama-Zimba, crossed the Zambesi River about 1575, and streaming south reached Natal about 1620.

It is impossible to do more than refer here to the convincing manner in which Mr. Soga appears to establish his classification and statement of tribal affiliations. A special word of praise is due to him, however, for the elaborately-detailed genealogical tables which he adduces to show the relationship and descent of the royal houses of each tribe and clan. These alone provide a most valuable apparatus for the analysis of tribal affiliations, and Mr. Soga's use of them shows an admirable grasp of method.

I. S.

*Mende Arithmetic*, Book I. (6d.) ; *Mende Reader*, Book I. (8d.) ; *Temne Arithmetic*, Book I. (6d.) ; *Temne Reader*, Book I. (8d.). Longmans, Green & Co., 1930.

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. are shewing great initiative in producing for the Sierra Leone Education Department these vernacular textbooks so cheaply and well prepared. The books are throughout printed in the new orthography according to the settlement effected in consultation with Professor Westermann. This orthography has entailed the employment of three special symbols in the case of Mende and four in that of Temne. There is no doubt that the use of new symbols for distinctive sounds has a vast advantage over any other type of orthographic suggestion, and it is to be anticipated that throughout Africa orthography revision will follow the lead made by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

C.M.D.